

*Sultan Mahomet Han the present Emperour
of the Turkes aged 26 years Anno 1669*



*Sultan Mahomet Han the present Emperour
of the Turkes aged 26 years Anno 1669*



Fletcher

THE PRESENT
STATE
OF THE
Ottoman Empire.

Containing the MAXIMS of the
TURKISH POLITIE,
The most material Points of the
MAHOMETAN RELIGION,
Their SECTS and HERESIES, their CONVENTS and
RELIGIOUS VOTARIES.

THEIR
MILITARY DISCIPLINE,

With an exact Computation of their
FORCES both by **LAND** and **SEA.**

Illustrated with divers Pieces of Sculpture, representing the variety
of Habits amongst the *Turks*.

IN THREE BOOKS.

By **PAUL RYCAUT** Esq;

Late Secretary to his Excellency the Earl of *Winchelsea*, (Embassador Extraordinary for his Majesty *Charles* the Second, &c. to *Sultan Mahomet Han* the Fourth, Emperour of the *Turks*) now Consul of *Smyrna*, and Fellow of the Royal Society.

The Third Edition.

LONDON,

Printed for *John Starkey* and *Henry Erome*, and are to be sold by
Robert Boulter, at the *Turks-Head* in *Bishops-gate-street*.

MDCLXX.

THE NEW YORK

ST. ALBANS

OF THE NEW YORK

ST. ALBANS

ST. ALBANS

ST. ALBANS

ST. ALBANS

ST. ALBANS

ST. ALBANS

ST. ALBANS

ST. ALBANS

ST. ALBANS

ST. ALBANS

To the Right Honourable
HENRY Lord *ARLINGTON*,
His Majesties Principal Secretary of State.

My Lord,



After five years residence at *Constantino-
ple*, in service of the Embassy of the
Earl of *Winchilsea* (my ever honoured
Lord) and this my second journey
from thence by land into my own
Country, I judged it a point of my
Duty, and of my Religion too, to de-
dicate this following Treatise, as the
fruits of my Travels, Negotiations,
and leisure in those remote parts, to the Noble Person of your
Lordship; as that *Votiva Tabula*, which many both in ancient
and in the modern times, after some signal deliverance, or hap-
py arrival at their desired Port, use to offer to their Gods, their
Saints, or their Patrons: And truly, my Lord, this Discourse
treating chiefly of the Turkish Policy, Government, and Max-
ims of State, seems naturally to appertain to the Patronage of
your Lordship, whose faculties of Wisdom and Vertue have
given you the Blessing of your Princes Favour, and the Reputa-
tion, as well abroad as at home, of an Eminent and Dexte-
rous Minister of State.

It were a great Presumption in me to offer any Observati-
ons of my own in the Courts of Christian Princes to the test of
your Lordships Experience and Judgment, who not only is ac-
quainted with the Customs and Manners, but penetrates into
the Designs, and knows the Cabinet Councils of Neighbouring
Principalities, with whom our divided world may possibly be
concerned; but perhaps without disparagement to your Lord-
ships profound Wisdom, or over-value of my own abilities, I
may confidently draw a rude Scheme before your Lordship, of
the Turkish Government, Policies, and Customs; a Subject
which Travellers have rather represented to their Country-
men, to supply them with discourse and admiration, than as a
matter worthy the consideration, or concernment of our Kings
or our Governours.

The Epistle Dedicatory.

It hath been the happy fortune of the Turk to be accounted barbarous and ignorant ; for upon this perswasion Christian Princes have laid themselves open and unguarded to their greatest danger ; contending together for one Palm of land, whilst this puissant Enemy hath made himself master of whole Provinces, and largely shared in the rich and pleasant possessions of *Europe*.

This contempt of the Turk on one side, caused the Emperour to be so backward in opposing that torrent of the *Ottoman* Force, which in the first year of the late War broke in upon him ; and the suspicion of designs from *France* on the other, altered the Resolutions and Councils of the Emperour for prosecution of the War, which then running favourably on the Christian part, was no less than with the astonishment of the whole world, and of the Turks themselves, on a sudden understood to be clapt up with Articles of a disadvantageous Peace ; admiring to see the Emperour give a stop to the current of his Victories, and relinquish the Game with a lucky hand. But this will seem no riddle to those who penetrate Affairs with the same judgment that your Lordship doth, and consider the unfirm condition the House of *Austria* was in, by a daily expectation of the death or fall of so main a Basis of it, as the King of *Spain*, and the division amongst the Princes of the Empire, the League of the *Rhine*, the French practices to make the Duke of *Enguyen* King of *Poland*, and the extravagant demands of the French and Rhinish League for Winter quarters, and places of strength, not only in *Hungary*, but also in *Styria* and the adjacent places ; and at the same time look on the Factions in *Hungary*, and a considerable Army of French in the bowels of *Germany*, who were supposed in those parts to have rather come with design to over-awe the next Diet, and force the German Princes to elect the French King for King of the Romans, than with sincere and simple intentions of opposing themselves to the Enemy of the Faith : for then it will appear, that the best use the Emperour could make of his good success, was moderation in Victory, and reconciliation with his powerful Enemy. And hereupon Earl *Leisle* being dispatched for Extraordinary Embassadour from his Imperial Majesty, to the Grand Signior ; though the *Turk* was elevated with the thoughts of the necessity the Christians had of a Peace, did yet

The Epistle Dedicatory.

yet so happily manage his Charge and Employment, as created in the Turks an extraordinary reverence towards his Person, and obtained such Honours and Treatments from them, as the Turkish Court never bestowed before on the Emperours, or any other Christian Embassadour; extorting this Complement from the great Vizier, That he was more satisfied the Emperour had sent so brave and illustrious a person, than if he had sought to reconcile his Affections with a hundred thousand Dollars more of Present. And to do justice to this worthy Person, he hath brought a reputation to the British Nation, above any in our age, whose vertues and industry have acquired the highest Trusts and Preferments in Forreign Parts; and done the same honour to his King, under whom he was born a Subject, as to the present Emperour and his Ancestors, under whom he is, and hath always been a faithful Minister: having deserved so eminently for saving the whole German Empire from the Treason of *Wallestein*, by his own single act of bravery (a story notoriously known to all the world) as can never in gratitude be forgot by that Nation, nor want its due Record and place in the History of that Country.

The speculation of what is contained in this following Discourse may seem unworthy of your Lordships precious hours, in regard of that notion of Barbarity with which this Empire is stiled; yet the knowledge hereof will be like a *Turquoise*, or some other Jewel set within the Rose of those many Gems of your Lordships Wisdom and Vertues.

This Present, which I thus humbly consecrate to your Lordship, may be termed barbarous, as all things are, which are differenced from us by diversity of Manners and Custom, and are not dressed in the mode and fashion of our times and Countries; for we contract prejudice from ignorance and want of familiarity. But your Lordship, who exactly ponderates the weight of humane Actions, acknowledges reason in all its habits, and draws not the measures of Oeconomy or Policy from external appearances or effects, but from the fundamental and original Constitutions; so that your Lordship will conclude, that a People, as the Turks are, men of the same composition with us, cannot be so savage and rude as they are generally described; for ignorance and grossness is the effect of Poverty, not incident to
happy

The Epistle Dedicatory.

happy men, whose spirits are elevated with Spoils and Trophies of so many Nations.

Knowing (My Lord) that this work which I have undertaken is liable to common censure, I have chosen to shrowd my name under the patronage of your Lordship, to protect me from the ill-understanding and mis-conceptions of our Countrymen, both at home and abroad: against which I doubt not but to be sufficiently armed in all parts where I travel, when the countenance your Lordship affords me, is joined to the authority of his Excellency the Earl of *Winchilsea*, his Majesties Embassadour Extraordinary, now actually resident at *Constantinople*, my ever honoured Lord; to whom I read, a long time before publish'd to the World, the greatest part of this following Treatise; and as I received his favourable approbation, and assent to the verity of most matters herein contained; so I must ingenuously confess to have been beholding to that quick and refined Genius of his, who often rectified my mistakes, supplied me with matter, and remembred me of many material points, which I might otherwise have most unadvisedly omitted: And his Excellency knowing that in his absence this Book might want a favourable Patron, left me to my self to seek out one, who might concur with him in the same innocent defence. And as (My Lord) you are a publick person, and under our Gracious Sovereign, are one of those generous spirits which have espoused the common interest of the Nation; so I presume on this present occasion not to want your protection also in a single capacity: for which excess of favours I shall ever pray for the exaltation of the greater glory of your Lordship, and for ever acknowledge my self,

My Lord,

Your Lordships most humble, most

faithful, and most devoted Servant,

PAUL RYCAUT.

THE
EPISTLE
TO THE
READER.

Courteous Reader,

I Present thee here with a true Systeme or Model of the Turkish Government and Religion; not in the same manner as certain ingenious Travellers have done, who have set down their Observations as they have obviously occurred in their Journeys; which being collected for the most part from Relations, and Discourses of such who casually intervene in company of Passengers, are consequently subject to many errors and mistakes: But having been an Inhabitant my self at the Imperial City for the space of five years, and assisted by the advantage of considerable Journeys I have made through divers parts of Turkey, and qualified by the Office I hold of Secretary to the Earl of Winchilsea Lord Embassadour, I had opportunity by the constant access and practice with the Chief Ministers of State, and variety of Negotiations which passed through my hands in the Turkish Court, to penetrate farther into the Mysteries of this Politie, which appear so strange and barbarous to us, than hasty Travellers could do, who are forced to content themselves with a superficial knowledge.

The Computations I have made of the value of their Offices, of the strength and number of their Souldiery, according as every City and Country is rated, are deduced from their own Registers and Records. The Observations I have made of their Politie, are either Maxims received from the Mouth and Argument of considerable Ministers, or Conclusions arising from my own Experience and Considerations. The Articles of their Faith and Constitutions of Religion, I have set down as pronounced from the mouth of some of the most learned Doctors and Preachers of their Law, with whom for Money or Presents

The Epistle to the Reader.

I gained a familiarity and appearance of friendship. The Relation of the Seraglio, and Education of their Youth, with divers other matters of Custom and Rule, were transmitted to me by several sober Persons, trained up with the best Education of the Turkish Learning; and particularly, by an understanding Polonian, who had spent nineteen years in the Ottoman Court.

If (Reader) the superstition, vanity, and ill foundation of the Mahometan Religion seem fabulous, as a Dream, or the fancies of a distracted and wild Brain, thank God that thou wert born a Christian, and within the Pale of an Holy and an Orthodox Church. If the Tyranny, Oppression, and Cruelty of that State, wherein Reason stands in no competition with the pride and lust of an unreasonable Minister, seem strange to thy Liberty and Happiness, thank God that thou art born in a Country the most free and just in all the World; and a Subject to the most indulgent, the most gracious of all the Princes of the Universe; That thy Wife, thy Children, and the fruits of thy labour can be called thine own, and protected by the valiant Arm of thy fortunate King: And thus learn to know and prize thy own Freedom, by comparison with Foreign Serwitude, that thou mayst ever bless God and thy King, and make thy Happiness breed thy Content, without degenerating into wantonness, or desire of revolution. Farewel.

THE

CONTENTS

Of the several

CHAPTERS.

The First Book.

CHAP. I.	
T HE Constitution of the Turkish Government, being different from most others in the world, hath need of peculiar Maxims and Rules whereon to establish and confirm it self.	Page 1
CHAP. II.	
The absoluteness of the Emperour is a great support of the Turkish Empire.	2
CHAP. III.	
The Lesson of Obedience to their Emperour is taught by the Turks as a Principle of Religion, rather than of State.	8
CHAP. IV.	
The History of Kiossem, or the Queen-Mother.	11
CHAP. V.	
The Education of Young Men in the Seraglio, out of which those who are to discharge the great Offices of the Empire are elected; it being a Maxim of the Turkish Politie, To have the Prince served by such whom he can raise without envy, and destroy without danger.	25
CHAP. VI.	
Of the Method in the Turkish Studies and Learning in the Seraglio.	30
CHAP. VII.	
Of the Platonick affection and Friendship the Pages in the Seraglio bear each to other.	33
CHAP. VIII.	
Of the Mutes and Dwarfs.	34
CHAP. IX.	
Of the Eunuchs.	35
Of the Black Eunuchs, and Apartments of the Women.	37
CHAP. X.	
Of the Agiamoglans.	40
CHAP. XI.	
Of the Vizier Azem, or Prime-Vizier, his Office; the other six Viziers of the Bench; and of the Divan, or place of Judicature.	43
CHAP. XII.	
Of the Offices, Dignities, and several Governments of the Empire.	51
(a)	CHAP.

The Contents.

CHAP. XIII.	
<i>In what manner the Tartar Han depends on the Turk.</i>	57
CHAP. XIV.	
<i>Of the Tributary Princes to the Turks, viz. the Moldavians, Valachians, Transilvanians, Raguseans, &c.</i>	60
CHAP. XV.	
<i>The desolation and ruine which the Turks make of their own Country in Asia, and the Parts most remote from the Imperial Seat, esteemed one cause of the conservation of the Empire.</i>	67
CHAP. XVI.	
<i>All Hereditary Succession in Government, as also the preservation of an Antient Nobility, against the Maxims of Turkish Politie.</i>	69
CHAP. XVII.	
<i>The frequent exchange of Officers, as the setting up one and degrading another; a Rule always practised as wholesom, and conducing to the welfare of the Turkish State.</i>	75
CHAP. XVIII.	
<i>The several Arts the Turks use for increase of their People, is a Principal Policy, without which the greatness of their Empire cannot continue nor be encreased.</i>	79
CHAP. XIX.	
<i>The manner of Reception of Forreign Embassadors amongst the Turks, and and the esteem is had of them.</i>	83
CHAP. XX.	
<i>How Embassadors and Publick Ministers govern themselves in their Negotiations and Residence amongst the Turks.</i>	89
CHAP. XXI.	
<i>How Christian and other Forreign Princes in particular stand in the esteem and opinion of the Turk.</i>	91
CHAP. XXII.	
<i>The regard the Turks have to their Leagues with Forreign Princes.</i>	94

The second Book.

CHAP. I.	
<i>Of the Turks Religion in general.</i>	
CHAP. II.	
<i>The Toleration that Mahometanism in its Infancy promised to other Religions, and in what manner that agreement was afterwards observed.</i>	98
CHAP. III.	
<i>The Arts wherewith the Turkish Religion is propagated.</i>	103
CHAP. IV.	
<i>The Power and Office of the Mufti, and the Turkish Government in Religious Matters.</i>	105
CHAP. V.	
<i>Of the Mufti's Revenue, and from whence it does arise.</i>	109
CHAP. VI.	
<i>Of the Emirs.</i>	110
	CHAP.

The Contents.

CHAP. VII.	
<i>Of the Endowments of Royal Mosches, and in what nature Tithes are given for maintenance of their Priests and Religion.</i>	112
CHAP. VIII.	
<i>Of the nature of Predestination according to the Turkish Doctors.</i>	115
CHAP. IX.	
<i>Of the difference of Sects, and disagreement in Religion amongst the Turks in general.</i>	117
CHAP. X.	
<i>Of the two prevailing Sects, viz. of Mahomet and Hali, that is, the Turk and the Persian; the Errours of the Persian recounted, and confuted by the Mufti of Constantinople.</i>	119
CHAP. XI.	
<i>Of the ancient Sects and Heresies amongst the Turks.</i>	122
CHAP. XII.	
<i>Of the new and modern Sects arisen amongst the Turks, and how dangerous some of them may prove for raising Sedition in the Empire.</i>	128
CHAP. XIII.	
<i>Of their Religious Men; and first of their Dervises.</i>	135
CHAP. XIV.	
<i>Of the Order of Ebrbuhare.</i>	141
CHAP. XV.	
<i>Of the Order of Nimetulahî.</i>	142
CHAP. XVI.	
<i>Of the Order of Kadri.</i>	143
CHAP. XVII.	
<i>Of the Order of Kalenderi.</i>	145
CHAP. XVIII.	
<i>Of the Order of Edhemi.</i>	147
CHAP. XIX.	
<i>Of the Order of Bectasse.</i>	148
CHAP. XX.	
<i>Of the Order of Hizrevî, or Herewî.</i>	149
CHAP. XXI.	
<i>Of Marriages, Divorces, and how far Concubinage is indulged amongst the Turks.</i>	151
CHAP. XXII.	
<i>Of other parts of the Turkish Religion, and first of Circumcision.</i>	157
CHAP. XXIII.	
<i>Of the five necessary Points which are required to constitute a true Mahometan; viz. 1. Washings. 2. Prayers. 3. Observation of the Ramazan. 4. The Zacat. 5. Pilgrimage.</i>	158
CHAP. XXIV.	
<i>Of the Feast of Bairam, and the Ceremonies used at that time by the Chief Officers and Ministers towards the Grand Signior.</i>	162
CHAP. XXV.	
<i>Of the Prohibition of Swines-flesh and Wine.</i>	165
CHAP. XXVI.	
<i>Of their Morality, good Works, and some certain account of their Laws; worthy observation.</i>	166

The Contents.

The Third Book.

CHAP. I.	
<i>Of the present state of the Military Discipline amongst the Turks.</i>	I
CHAP. II.	
<i>Of the Turkish Militia in general.</i>	3
CHAP. III.	
<i>A Computation of the Forces arising from the Zaims and Timariots.</i>	6
CHAP. IV.	
<i>Of certain Customs and Laws observed amongst the Zaims and Timariots.</i>	13
CHAP. V.	
<i>Of the state of the Militia in Grand Cairo and Egypt, and of the Auxiliary Forces to the forementioned Militia of the Turks.</i>	14
CHAP. VI.	
<i>Of the Spahees.</i>	16
CHAP. VII.	
<i>Of the Janizaries.</i>	22
CHAP. VIII.	
<i>Whether the maintenance of an Army of Janizaries according to the original institution, be now agreeable to the Rules of Politie amongst the Turks.</i>	28
CHAP. IX.	
<i>Of the Chiaufes.</i>	31
CHAP. X.	
<i>Of the other parts of the Turkish Militia, viz. the Toptchi, Segbans, and Sarigias, Gebegee, Muhlagi, Belli, and Delees.</i>	32
CHAP. XI.	
<i>Certain observations on the Turkish Camp.</i>	36
CHAP. XII.	
<i>Of the Turks Armata, or Naval Forces at Sea.</i>	45
<i>The Conclusion.</i>	49



THE
MAXIMES
OF THE
Turkish Politie.

CHAP. I.

The Constitution of the Turkish Government being different from most others in the World, hath need of peculiar Maxims, and Rules, whereon to establish and confirm it self.



Have begun a Work which seems very full of difficulty and labour; for to trace the footsteps of *Government* in the best formed and moulded *Common-wealths* (such as are supported with *Reason* and with *Religion*) is no less then to unriddle and resolve a *Mystery*. For as a *Common-wealth*, by many Authors, *O navis referent in mare se novi fluctus.* hath not been unaptly compared to a *Ship*, in divers respects, and proper *Allegories*; so principally the small impression or sign of *Ode Lib. 1.* track, the floating habitation leaves behind it on the Sea, in all the traverses it makes, according to the different winds to attain its Port, is a lively embleme of the various motions of good *Government*, which by reason of circumstances, times, and multiplicity of chances and events, leaves little or no path in all the Ocean of humane affairs.

But there must be yet certain Rules in every *Government*, which are the foundations and pillars of it; not subject to the alteration of time, or any other accident; and so essential to it, that they admit of no change, untill the whole model of Politie suffer a *Convulsion*, and

B

be

be shaken into some other form; which is either effected by the new laws of a Conqueror, or by intestine and civil revolutions. Of such Maxims as these, (obvious to all who have had any practice in the *Ottoman Court*) I have made a collection, subjoining to every head some reflections and considerations of my own, which at my leisure hours I have weighed and examined, bringing them (according to the proportion of my weak judgement and ability) to the measure and test of reason and virtue; as also to a similitude, and congruity with the Maxims of other Empires, to which God hath given the largest extent of Dominion.

But indeed when I have considered seriously the contexture of the *Turkish* Government, the absoluteness of an Emperour without reason, without virtue, whose speeches may be irrational, and yet must be laws; whose actions irregular, and yet examples; whose sentence and judgement, if in matters of the Imperial concernment, are most commonly corrupt, and yet decrees irresistible: When I consider what little rewards there are for virtue, and no punishment for profitable and thriving vice; how men are raised at once by adulation, chance, and the sole favour of the Prince, without any title of noble blood, or the motives of previous deserts, or former testimonies and experience of parts or abilities, to the weightiest, the richest, and most honourable charges of the Empire; when I consider how short their continuance is in them, how with one frown of their Prince they are cut off; with what greediness above all people in the world, they thirst and haste to be rich, and yet know their treasure is but their snare; what they labour for is but as slaves for their great Patron and Master, and what will inevitably effect their ruine and destruction, though they have all the arguments of faithfulness, virtue, and moral honesty (which are rare in a *Turk*) to be their advocates, and plead for them. When I consider many other things of like nature, (which may more at large hereafter be discoursed of) one might admire the long continuance of this great and vast Empire, and attribute the stability thereof without change within its self, and the increase of Dominions and constant progress of its arms, rather to some super-natural cause, then to the ordinary Maxims of State, or wisdom of the Governours, as if the Divine will of the all-knowing Creator, had chosen for the good of his Church, and chastisement of the sins and vices of Christians, to raise and support this potent people.

Tacit. l. 3: An. Mihi quanto plura recentium seu veterum revolveo, tanto magis ludibria rerum mortalium cunctis in negotiis observantur.

But that which cements all breaches, and cures all those wounds in this body politick, is the quickness and severity of their justice, which not considering much the strict division and parts of *distributive* and *commutative*, makes almost every crime equal, and punishes it with the last and extreamest chastisement, which is death; I mean those which have relation to the Government, and are of common and publick interest. Without this remedy, which I lay down as a principal prevention of the greatest disorders, this mighty body would burst with the poyson of its own ill humors, and soon divide it self into several Signories, as the ambition and power of the Governours most remote from the Imperial Seat administred them hopes and security of becoming absolute.

In

In this Government, severity, violence, and cruelty are natural to it; and it were as great an error to begin to loose the reins, and ease the people of that oppression to which they and their fore-fathers have since their first original been accustomed, as it would be in a nation free-born, and used to live under the protection of good laws, and the clemency of a virtuous and Christian Prince, to exercise a Tyrannical power over their estates and lives, and change their liberty into servitude and slavery. The *Turks* had the original of their Civil Government founded in the time of war: for when they first came out of *Scythia*, and took arms in their hands, and submitted unto one General, it is to be supposed, that they had no Laws but what were Arbitrary and Martial, and most agreeable to the enterprise and design they had then in hand, when *Tangrolipix* overthrew the *Persian Sultan*; possessed himself of his Dominions and Power, and called and opened the way for his companions out of *Armenia*; when *Cutlumuses* revolted from him, and made a distinct kingdom in *Arabia*: when other Princes of the *Selcuccian* family in the infancy of the Turkish power had by wars among themselves, or by Testament made division of their possessions; when (*Anno 1300*) *Ottoman*, by strange fortunes, and from small beginnings swallowed up all the other Governments into the *Ogusian* Tribe, and united them under one head, untill at last it arrived to that greatness and power it now enjoys. The whole condition of this people was but a continued state of war; wherefore it is not strange; if their laws are severe, and in most things arbitrary; that the Emperor should be absolute and above law, and that most of their customs should run in a certain channel and course most answerable to the height and unlimited power of the Governour, and consequently to the oppression and subjection of the people: and that they should thrive most by servitude, be most happy, prosperous and contented under Tyranny, is as natural to them, as to a body to be nourished with that diet, which it had from its infancy or birth been acquainted with. But not only is Tyranny requisite for this people, and a stiff rein to curb them, lest by an unknown liberty they grow mutinous and unruly, but likewise the large territories and remote parts of the Empire require speedy preventions, without processes of law, or formal indictment: jealousy and suspicion of mis-government being license and authority enough for the Emperour to inflict his severest punishments: all which depends upon the absoluteness of the Prince; which because it is that whereby the *Turks* are principally supported in their greatness, and is the prime Maxim and Foundation of their State, we shall make it the discourse and subject of the following Chapter.

*Ma Esperati
che gli danno,
e che cominciano
ad essere in
vecchiassime,
Sec. Machi.c. 6.
del Principe.*

C H A P. II.

The absoluteness of the Emperour is a great support of the Turkish Empire.



*Sultan Mahomet Han the present Emperour of the Turks.
aged 23: years Anno 1686*

The largeness
of the Turkish
Empire.

THE *Turks* having (as is before declared) laid the first foundation of their Government with the principles most agreeable to Military Discipline, their Generals or Princes, whose will and lusts they served, became absolute Masters of their Lives and Estates; so that what they gained and acquired by the Sword with labours, perils, and sufferings, was appropriated to the use and benefit of their Great Master. All the delightful fields of *Asia*, the pleasant plains of *Tempe* and *Thrace*, all the plenty of *Egypt* and fruitfulness of the *Nile*, the luxury of *Corinth*, the substance of *Peleponesus*, *Athens*, *Lemnos*, *Scio*, and *Mitylen*, with other Isles of the *Aegean Sea*, the Spices of *Arabia*, and the riches of a great part of *Persia*, all *Armenia*, the Provinces of *Pontus*, *Galatia*, *Bythinia*, *Phrygia*, *Lycia*, *Pamphylia*, *Palestine*, *Celosiria* and *Phenicia*, *Colchis*, and a great part of *Georgia*, the tributary principalities of *Moldavia* and *Valachia*, *Romania*, *Bulgaria* and *Servia*, and the best part of *Hungary*, concur all together to satise the appetite of one single person; all the extent of this vast territory, the Lands and Houses, as well as the Castles and Arms, are the proper goods of the Grand

Grand Signior, in his sole disposal and gift they remain, whose possession and right they are; only to lands dedicated to religious uses, the Grand Signior disclaims all right or claim; and this he so piously observes (to the shame of our Sectaries in *England*, who violate the *penetralia* of the Sanctuary) that when a Bashaw, though afterwards convicted of Treason, bestows any lands or rents on any certain Mosch or Temple, that grant or gift is good and exempted from any disposal or power of the Grand Signior. The lands being thus originally in the Grand Signior, after the Conquests were made, and the Country secured, and in condition to be distributed, divisions were made of the houses, manors, and farms among the Soldiery, whom they call *Ti-mars*, as the reward and recompence of their valour and labour; in consideration of which, every one proportionably to his revenue and possession, is obliged to maintain horse and men to be always ready when the Grand Signior shall call him forth to serve him in the wars; by which means the whole Country being in the hand of the Souldiery, all places are the better strengthened, and the conquered people more easily kept from Mutiny and Rebellion; not much unlike our tenure of Knights-service in *England*, and lands held of the Crown, but with this difference, that we enjoy them by the title of a fixed and settled Law, never to be forfeited but upon Treason and Rebellion; they enjoy them also by inheritance derived from the Father to the Son, but yet as usufructuary during the pleasure of the Emperour, in whom the propriety is always reserved, and whodoth often as his humour and fancy leads him to please and gratifie a stranger, dispossess an ancient possessor, whose family hath for many generations enjoyed that inheritance. Sometimes I have heard with the sighes of some, and the curse of others, how the Grand Signior heated in his hunting, and pleased with the refreshment of a little cool and chrystal water, presented him by a poor Paisant; hath in recompence thereof freed the Tenant from the rent of his Landlord, and by his sole word confirmed to him the Cottage he lived in, the Woods, Gardens and Fields he manured, with as sound a title, as our long deeds and conveyances secure our purchases and inheritances in *England*; and this the former Master dares not name injustice, because this Tenant is now made proprietor by the will of the Grand Signior, which was the same title and claim with his; prescription, tenant-right, and custom availing nothing in this case. For if the inheritance hath been anciently derived from Father to Son; the more is the goodness and bounty of the Emperour to be acknowledged, that hath permitted so long a succession of his favours to run in one family, in whose power it was to transfer it to others.

The absolute and unlimited power of this Prince is more evident by the titles they give him, as *God on earth, the shadow of God, Brother to the Sun and Moon, the giver of all earthly Crowns, &c.* And though they do not build and erect Altars to him, as was done to the Roman Emperours, when that people degenerated into a fashion of deformed adulation, wherein *Italy* is at present corrupted; yet the conception they have of his power, the Ray they conceive to be in him of divine illumination, is a kind of imagery, and idolatrous fancy they frame of his divinity. It is an ordinary saying among the *Turkish* Cadees and Lawyers,

Lawyers, That *the Grand Signior is above the Law*; that is, whatsoever law is written, is contrrollable, and may be contradicted by him: his mouth is the law it self, and the power of an infallible interpretation is in him; and though the *Musti* is many times, for custome, formality and satisfaction of the people consulted with, yet when his sentences have not been agreeable to the designs intended, I have known him in an instant thrown from his office to make room for another oracle better prepared for the purpose of his Master. Some maintain that the very oaths and promises of the Grand Signior are always revocable, when the performance of his vow is a restriction to the absolute power of the Empire. And I remember when my Lord Ambassador hath sometimes complained of the breach of our capitulations, and pleaded that the Grand Signior had no power by simple commands to infringe articles of peace, to which he had obliged himself by solemn oaths and vows; the Interpreters have very gently touched that point, and been as nice to question how far the power of the Grand Signior extended, as we ought to be in the subtile points of the divine Omnipotence, but rather in contemplation of the Grand Signiors justice, wisdom, faith, and clemency, insinuated arguments of honour, convenience, and justice in maintaining the league inviolate with the King of England. It was *Justinians* rule concerning the Prerogative of Princes, *Et si legibus soluti sumus, tamen legibus vivimus*. That is, although the Majesty of Princes, and the necessity of having a supream head in all governments, did free and privilege them from all punishment, and exempt them from the censure and correction of law, that no earthly power could call them to account for their errors or disorders in this world; yet it is necessary to the Being of an absolute Monarch, to be a severe executioner of the Laws of his Country, and it is more his interest and security, then to act without rule, and always to make use of the power of absolute dominion, which is to be applied like Physick, when the ordinary force of nature cannot remove the malignancy of some peccant humours. The Grand Signior himself is also restrained by laws, but without impeachment to his absolute jurisdiction. For when there is a new Emperour, it is the custom to conduct him with great pomp and triumph to a place in the Suburbs of *Constantinople* called *Job*, where is an ancient Monument of some certain Prophet, or Holy man, whom the *Turks* for want of knowledge in Antiquity and History, stile that *Job*, who was recorded for the mirrour of constancy and patience. For they confound all History in Chronology, saying that *Job* was *Solomons* judge of the Court, and *Alexander* the Great, Captain of his army. At this place Solemn Prayers are made, that God would prosper and infuse wisdom into him, who is to manage so great a charge. Then the *Musti* embracing him, bestows his benediction, and the Grand Signior swears and promises solemnly to maintain the Musleman Faith, and laws of the Prophet *Mahomet*; and then the *Visiers* of the Bench, and other *Bashaws*, with profound reverence and humility, kissing the ground first, and then the hemme of his vest, acknowledge him their lawful and undoubted Emperour: and after this form of inauguration, he returns with the like solemnity and magnificence to the *Seraglio*, (which is always the seat of the *Ottoman* Emperours.) And thus the

the Gr. Sig. retains, and obliges himself to govern within the compass of Laws, but they give him so large a latitude, that he can no more be said to be bound or limited, than a man who hath the world to rove in can be termed a prisoner, because he cannot exceed the Inclosure of the Universe. For though he be obliged to the execution of the *Mahometan Law*, yet that Law calls the Emperour the Mouth and Interpreter of it, and endues him with power to alter and annul the most settled and fixed Rules, at least to wave and dispense with them when they are an obstacle to his Government, and contradict (as we said before) any great design of the Empire. But the learned Doctors among the *Turks* more clearly restrain the Imperial power only to the observation of that which is Religious in the *Mahometan Law*, saying, That in matters which are Civil his Law is Arbitrary, and needs no other Judge or Legislator than his own will. Hence it is that they say, the Grand Signior can never be deposed or made accountable to any for his crimes, whilst he destroys causelessly of his Subjects under the number of 1000 a day; and in like manner hence it is, that though the *Mahometan Law* determines the testimony of two Witnesses of that Faith to be valid for the determination of all cases of difference; yet by our Capitulations it is provided, that no *Turkish* Witnesses of what number or quality soever can avail against any of the *English* Nation, by reason that the case being Civil is dispensable by the Imperial power; but I doubt, were any matter in question Criminal, (as we have never, God be praised, had occasion to put it to trial) the Capitulations would be forced to yield to the *Mahometan Law*, as being Religious and Divine, with which the Sultan hath no power to dispense. Of what consequence and benefit this absolute power hath been to the *Turks*, is evident by the extent of their Empire and success of their Arms. For if the Sultan pleases the Souldiery, no matter how the people in this constitution is contented; and this was the conclusion of *Machiavel* upon this Government, in the 19. Chapter of his Book *del Prencipe*. And it must needs be a great advantage to a Commander, when the *Utile* and *Iustum* are reconciled and made the same, and that he meets no contradiction or opposition at home, which may retard or cross the great designs abroad. The Emperour of *Germany* had doubtless sooner encountred the *Turks*, and given a stop to his free entrance the first year of the late War into *Hungary*, had he been absolute of the whole Empire, and not necessitated to expect the consent of his several Princes, and the result of a Diet, when the *Turks* were even ready to enter *Germany*. For when many heads or hands are required, all business moves slowly, and more time is spent in agreement of the manner of action, in arguments and debates, (which are most commonly carried on by faction) than in the most difficult point of execution. It would seem a great clog to the Grand Signior to be obliged to depend on the bounty of his Subjects when he would make a War, or on the judgment of a Lawyer that should contradict and censure the actions of his Prince as irregular, and exceeding the privileges of his Prerogative. It is very difficult to understand how it is possible with these fetters for any Country or City ever to arrive to that height, as to be termed the Mistress of a great Empire, or a Prince be said to have a long arm, or embrace a large compass of the Globe, who is pinioned with

with the bands of his own Laws. But I confess it is a blessing and wonderful happiness of a people, to be Subjects of a gracious Prince, who hath prescribed his power within the compass of wholesome Laws, acknowledged a right of possession and propriety of Estate as well in his Subjects as himself, who doth not punish the innocent with the guilty, nor oppress without distinction, nor act the part of that King whom God gives in his wrath. But then they must content themselves with their own borders, or some neighbouring conquest, and this is better, and a greater glory and content, [than the honour of being Slaves to the lust of a Monarch, whose Titles comprehend the greatest part of the world.

CHAP. III.

The Lesson of Obedience to their Emperour is taught by the Turks, as a Principle of Religion rather than of State.

THE absolute power in the Prince implies an exact obedience in the Subjects; and to instill and confirm that Principle no art or industry is wanting, in the education of those who are placed in the *Seraglio*, with design of preferment to Offices and great Charges; so that even the Oath of Obedience which Friars and other Religious men vow to their Superiors at their first initiation into Ecclesiastical Orders, is not more exactly or devoutly observed or professed by them, than this Doctrine of submission to the will of their great master is carefully taught to his young Scholars, who stand Probationers and Candidates for all the Governments of the Empire. To die by the hand or command of the Grand Signior, when the blow is submitted to, with entire resignation, is taught to be the highest point of Martyrdom; and whose good fortune it is so to suffer is immediately transported to Paradise. *Kara Mustapha Passaw* (a great Visier) after he had been so successful in all matters of his charge, and proved so excellent an Instrument of victories and services to his Master, that he was applauded by all to be a most happy and fortunate Minister, was so sensible of his own condition, and the favour of his Prince, that he confessed he was now arrived to the greatest glory and perfection he could in this life aspire to, and only wanted the holy Martyrdom, to die by the order and sentence of the Grand Signior as the reward of his faithfulness, and the consummation of all his Honours.

Such as receive any wages or pay coming from the Exchequer, or any Office depending on the Crown, have the title of *Kul*, which is, the Grand Signiors *Slave*: such is the great Visier and all the Pashaws of the Empire, and it is more honourable than the condition and name of *Subject*; for they have a privilege over these, and can revile, beat and abuse them with authority; but the *Subject* cannot offer the least injury to the *Slave* without danger of severe punishment. *Slavery* among the *Turks* denotes a condition of entire resignation to the will and command of the Emperour, to perform whatsoever he signifies; or if possible, what he conceives: though he command whole Armies of them to precipitate themselves from a Rock, or build a Bridge with piles

piles of their bodies for him to pass Rivers, or to kill one another to afford him pastime and pleasure. They that have been where they have seen and known the manner of this blind obedience, may well cry out, *O homines ad servitutem paratos!* And doubtless the flattery used in the *Seraglio* towards the Prince by those that are near his person, is proportionable to this condition of slavery they profess, and cannot but fancy a strange kind of projected baseness in all the deportment within the Walls of the *Seraglio*, when there appears so much condescension abroad to all the lusts and evil inclinations of their Master; so that a generous Prince (as some have been found among the *Ottoman* Emperours) though he desired not the publick liberty, would yet be weary of this slavish compliance, and seek other counsel and means to inform himself of the true state of his own and other Kings Dominions, then such as proceed from men unexperienced in any other Court or Country then that they live in. This flattery and immoderate subjection hath doubtless been the cause of the decay of the *Turkish* discipline in the time of Sultan *Ibrahim*, when Women governed, and now in this present age of Sultan *Mahomet*, whose counsels are given chiefly by his Mother, *Negroes*, Eunuchs, and some handsome young *Mosayp* or Favourite; seldom any from without being permitted, or have their spirits emboldened to declare a truth, or are called to give their counsel in matters of greatest importance. So that this obedience which brave and wise Emperours have made use of in the advancement of noble exploits, and enlargement of their Empire, is with effeminate Princes (delighted with flattery) the snare of their own greatness, and occasion of weak counsels and means in the management of great designs. If a man seriously consider the whole composition of the *Turkish* Court, he will find it to be a Prison and Banniard of Slaves, differing from that where the Galley-slaves are immured, only by the ornaments and glittering outside and appearances: here their chains are made of Iron, and there of gold, and the difference is only in a painted shining servitude, from that which is a squalid, sordid, and a noisome slavery. For the youths educated in the *Seraglio* (which we shall have occasion to discourse of in the next Chapter) are kept as it were within a prison, under a strange severity of discipline, some for 20, 30, others 40, years, others the whole time of the age of man, and grow gray under the correction of their *Hogias* or Tutors. The two Brothers of this present Grand Signior, are also imprisoned here, restrained with a faithful and careful guard, and perhaps are sometimes permitted out of grace and favour into the presence of their Brother, to kiss His Vest, and to perform the offices of duty and humility before their Prince. The Ladys also of the *Seraglio* have their faithful keepers of the black guard to attend them, and can only have the liberty of enjoying the air which passes through grates and lattices, unless sometime they obtain license to sport and recreate themselves in the Garden, separated from the sight of men by walls higher then those of any Nunnery.

Nay, if a man considers the contexture of the whole *Turkish* Government, he will find it such a Fabrick of slavery, that it is a wonder if any amongst them should be born of a free ingenuous spirit. The Grand Signior is born of a slave, the Mother of the present being a

C

Circhasian,

Qui libertatem publicam nollit, cum profla servitium patinsie debebat. Tac.

Circassian, taken perhaps by the *Tartars*, in their incursions into that Country. The *Visiers* themselves are not always free born by Father or Mother ; for the *Turks* get more children by their slaves then by their wives, and the continual supply of slaves sent in by the *Tartars*, taken from different Nations, by way of the black sea , (as hereafter we shall have occasion to speak more fully) fills *Constantinople* with such a strange race , mixture, and medly of different sorts of blood, that it is hard to find many that can derive a clear line from ingenious Parents : So that it is no wonder that amongst the *Turks* a disposition be found fitted and disposed for servitude, and that is better governed with a severe and tyrannous hand, then with sweetness and lenity, unknown to them and their fore-fathers : as *Grotius* takes this Maxime out of *Aristotle*, *Quosdam homines naturâ esse servos ; i. e. ad servitutem aptos ; & ita populi quidem, eo sunt ingenio ut regi quam regere norint rectius.* But since it appears that submission and subjection are so incident to the nature of the *Turks*, and obedience taught, and so carefully instilled into them with their first Rudiments ; it may be a pertinent question, how it comes to pass, that there are so many mutinies and rebellions as are seen and known amongst the *Turks*, and those commonly the most insolent, violent, and desperate that we read of in story. To let pass the mutinies of former times in the *Ottoman* Camp, and the usual, though short rebellions of ancient days : I shall instance in the causes and beginnings of two notorious disturbances, or rather madnesses of the Souldiery not mentioned in any History, which being passages of our age, deserve greatly to be recorded.

*Spahies the
Turkish horse.*

This obedience then that is so diligently taught and instilled into the Turkish Militia (as to the *Spahies* in their *Seraglios*, or *Seminaries* ; the *Janizaries* in their chambers) sometimes is forgot when the passions and animosities of the Court (by which inferiour affections are most commonly regulated) corrupt that Discipline, which its season and sobriety instituted. For the affections of Princes are indued with a general influence, when two powerful parties aspiring both to greatness and authority, allure the Souldiers to their respective factions, and engage them in a civil war amongst themselves ; and hence proceed seditions, destruction of Empires, the overthrow of Common-wealths, and the violent death of great Ministers of State.

And so it hapned when ill government and unprosperous successes of war, caused disobedience in the Souldiery, which some emulous of the greatness of those that were in power, nourished and raised to make place for themselves or their party. For in the time of *Sultan Mahomet*, the present Grand Signior, when the whole government of the Empire rested in the hands of one *Mulki Kadin*, a young audacious woman, by the extraordinary favour and love of the Queen Mother (who, as it was divulged, exercised an unnatural kind of carnality with the said Queen) so that nothing was left to the counsel and order of the *Visier* and grave Seniors, but was first to receive approbation and authority from her ; the black *Eunuchs* and *Negroes* gave laws to all, and the cabinet counsels were held in the secret apartments of the women ; and there were proscriptions made, Officers discharged, or ordained as were most proper to advance the interest of

of this Feminine Government. But at length, the souldiery (not used to the tyranny of women) no longer supporting this kind of servitude, in a moment resolved on a remedy, and in great tumults came to the *Seraglio*, where commanding the Grand Signior himself to the *Kiosch*, or banquetting-house, demanded without further prologue the heads of the favourite *Eunuchs*; there was no argument or Rhetorick to be opposed to this unreasonable multitude, nor time given for delays, or consultation; but every one of the accused, as he was entred into the souldiers roll or catalogue, and required, being first strangled, was afterwards thrown head-long from the wall of the Garden, and committed to the farther satisfaction of their enemies revenge, by whom from thence they were dragged to the *Hypodromo*, and before the new *Mosque* cut into small pieces, and their flesh roasted and eaten by them. The day following, they apprehended *Mulki*, and her husband *Schaban Kalfa*, both whom they put to death; nor ended this tumult here, until by means of dissention between the *Spahes* and *Janizaries*, the principal Ministers found means and opportunity to interpose their power; and having executed several of the *Spahes*, and performed other exemplary parts of Justice, reduced matters to some kind of quietness and composure; and thus order results often from confusion, and tumults in corrupted Commonwealths have operated good effects to the redress of several evils. But besides this insurrection or mutiny of the *Janizaries*, have succeeded divers other; but because there hath been no disorder amongst them so notorious and memorable, as that which occasioned the death of *Kiosem*, Grand-mother to the present *Sultan*, we have thought fit to record the certain particulars of it to all posterity.

CHAP. IV.

A true relation of the designs managed by the old Queen, Wife of Sultan Ahmet, and Mother of Sultan Morat, and Sultan Ibrahim, against her Grand-child Sultan Mahomet who now Reigns; and of the death of the said Queen and her Complices.

AFTER the murder of *Sultan Ibrahim*, by conspiracy of the *Janizaries*, *Sultan Mahomet* (eldest son of the late deceased Emperour, a child of nine years old) succeeded in the throne of his father; and the tuition of him, and administration of the Government (during his minority) was committed to the old Queen, the Grand-mother, called *Kiosem*; a Lady, who through her long experience, and practice in affairs, was able, and proper for so considerable an office; and so the young *Sultan* was conducted to the *Mosch* of *Einb*, where with the accustomed Ceremonies, his sword was girt to his side, and he proclaimed Emperour through all the Kingdoms and Provinces of his Dominions.

For some time this old Queen governed all things according to her pleasure, until the Mother of this young *Sultan* (as yet trembling with the thoughts of the horrid death of her Lord; and fearing

left the subtle and old Polititian the Grandmother (who had compassed the death of her husband) should likewise contrive the Murder of her Son, grew hourly more jealous of his life and safety; which suspicion of hers was augmented by the knowledge she had of the ambitious and haughty spirit of the Grand-mother, and the private treaties, and secret correspondence she held with the *Janizaries*, which compelled her to a resolution of making a faction likewise with the *Spahes*, and *Pashaws*, and *Beyes*, who had received their Education in the *Seraglio*, being a party alwaies opposite to the *Janizaries*. These she courted by Letters, and Messages, complaining of the death and Murder of the *Sultan* her Husband, the Pride and Insolence of the *Janizaries*; and small esteem was had of her Son, their undoubted Prince; adding, that if they provided not for their own safety, the Old Queen would abolish both the name and order of *Spahes*. The *Asiatick Spahes* awakened hereat, with a considerable Army marched to *Scutari* under the Conduct of *Gurgi Nebi*, and demanded the heads of those who had been the traytors and conspirators against the sacred Life of their late Sovereign; all which were then under the protection of the *Janizaries*, and supported by the powerful Authority of the Queen Regent. Upon this Alarum, the Grand Visier, (called *Morat Pashaw*) who had had his Education amongst the *Janizaries*, being adored by them as an Oracle, and engaged with them in the late Treason against the *Sultan*, speedily passed over from *Constantinople* to *Scutari*, with an Army of *Janizaries*, and others of his favourites and followers, transporting likewise Artillery and all necessaries for entrenchment; some skirmishes passed between the Vanguard of the *Spahes* and the *Deli* (which are the Visiers Guard) and thereby had engaged both the Armies; but that the two Chief Justices of *Anatolia* and *Greece* interposing with their grave and religious countenances, preached to them of the danger and impiety there was in the effusion of *Musselmans* or believers blood; and that, had they any just pretences, their plea should be heard, and all differences decided by the Law. These, and such like perswasions made impression on *Gurgi Nebi* and other *Spahes*; and the posture they found their Adversaries in, to give them battel, made them inclinable to hearken to proposals for accomodation; but especially their courages were abated by what the Justices had declared, that in case they repaired not to their own homes, the Visier was resolved to burn all the Rolls, and proclaim a general *Neftraum* through the whole Empire: (which is an Edict of the King and *Mufti*, commanding all the *Turks* of his Kingdoms from seven years old and upward to arm and follow him to the war.)

The *Spahes* hereupon dispersed themselves; and from their retreat encreased the Pride of the *Janizaries* faction, and of their chief Commanders, viz. *Beſtas Aga*, highly favoured by the Queen Regent; *Kul Kiahia* Lieutenant of the *Janizaries*, and *Kara Chians* a follower of *Beſtas*, who now esteemed themselves absolute Masters of the Empire. These three now governed all matters, contriving in their secret Councils the destruction of the *Spahes*; especially those famed for riches and valour; and as one of the first rank, gave order to the *Pasha* of *Anatolia* to take away the life of *Gurgi Nebi*, whom accordingly he one day assaulted in his quarters, and being abandoned by his
Soul-

Souldiers shot him with a Pistol, and sent his head to *Constantinople*.

The *Spahes* exasperated hereat, entred into private Councils and Conspiracies in *Anatolia* against the *Janizaries*, drawing to their party several *Beyes* and *Pashaws* of *Asia* (and particularly one *Ipsir* a *Circassian* born, but educated in the *Seraglio*, a Person of a couragious spirit, and powerful in men and treasure) assaulted many quarters of the *Janizaries* in *Asia*, and cutting off their arms and noses, miserably slaughtered as many as fell into their hands.

On the other party *Beſtas Aga*, secure in his condition, amassed wealth with both hands by new impositions, rapine, and other arts; causing to be coined at *Belgrade* 300 thousand *Aspers*, one third silver, and two of tinne; these *Aspers* he dispersed amongst the *Tradesmen* and *Artisans*, forcing others to exchange his false metal for Gold, at the value of 160 *Aspers* for the *Hungarian Ducat*. The people sensible of the cheat, begun a mutiny in the quarter of the *Sadlers* at *Constantinople*, which encreased so fast, that the whole City was immediately in a general uproar: this tumult was violently carried to the place of the *Mufti*, whom they forced with the *Seigh* (who is the Grand Signiors Preacher) and the *Nakib Efref*, or Primate of the *Mahometan Race*, to accompany them to the *Seraglio*, where at the inward gate of the Royal Lodgings, with clamours and out-cries they made their complaint. In this danger the Grand Signior was advised by the *Capi Agafi*, and *Solyman Aga*, the *Kuzlir Aga* or chief Eunuch of the Women, that this happy conjuncture was to be embraced for the destruction of *Beſtas* and his complices; but fear, and too much caution hindered that design for the present; only it was judged fit, for satisfaction of the multitude, that *Melek Ahmet Pashaw* (then Prime Visier, and yet a slave to the lusts of the *Janizaries*) should be deprived his office; which was immediately effected; and the Seal taken from him was delivered to *Sians Pashaw*, a Stout and Valiant person. This Visier being jealous of his own honour, and jealous for the safety of the Empire, cast about all ways to suppress the arrogance of *Beſtas* and his adherents; lest the like shame, and misfortune should befall him, as did to *Murad Pasha* one of his late Predecessors in the Office of Visier, who for dissenting from *Beſtas* in opinion, had lost his life, had he not escaped his fury by flying into *Greece*. The times were also troublesome, and full of danger; the *Janizaries* kept guard in the streets; not suffering so much as two Citizens to walk together, for prevention of secret consultations; many *Artisans*, or handy-crafts-men were imprisoned, as principal in the late tumult, against the consent and order of the new Visier; the Court was also divided; The *Sultans* party contrived to surprize and kill the rebellious Commanders of the *Janizaries*, and that the day following, the Lieutenant of the *Baltagees*, or Hatchet-men, should encounter *Kul-chiachia* as he came according to custom to the *Divan*, and slay him; but the Old Queen being of a contrary faction, with threats and menaces frighted that Officer from his design. The two Queens were exasperated highly against each other; one to maintain the Authority of her Son, and the other her own; in the City the confusion grew greater; the *Janizaries* were not pleased with the election of *Sians Pasha*, knowing him to be

averse

averse to their faction ; but yet considering the state of the times, they endeavoured with fair promises to allure him to their party. The Old Queen by Letters advised *Beſtas* of all matters that were discoursed in the *Seraglio*, intimating that the Young Queen was Author of all these disturbances, and that therefore as a remedy of all these evils, it was necessary, that *Sultan Mahomet* should be deposed, and his younger Brother *Solyman* placed in his stead, who having a Mother, would be absolutely subject to her tuition : she added likewise that *Solyman* was a lusty youth, corpulent and Majestical, whereas *Sultan Mahomet* was lean, weakly, and unable for the Crown. *Beſtas* having received this message from the Queen Regent, assembled a Council at *Orta-giami*, (that is the *Janizaries Mosch*) where was great and solemn appearance both of the Souldiery and Lawyers, (which latter are of the spiritual function among them) some out of friendship to their party, and others for fear of their power ; only the Visier was wanting, whom they sent to invite, out of an opinion that he might be drawn to their side, and in case they found him opposite, then not to suffer him to escape alive from their Councils. It was then two hours in the night, when this message came to the Visier ; and though it was against the state, and gravity of a Visier to go to any, but his Master ; yet he thought it now time to dissemble, and overcome the greatness of his mind ; and so with a private retinue went to the *Mosch*, where the first he encountred was a Guard of ten thousand *Janizaries* armed with their Muskets and Matches lighted, which at first so dismayed him that he had some thoughts of returning ; but afterward recovering himself, and taking courage, resolved to proceed ; and coming to the *Mosch*, *Beſtas* vouchsafed not to meet him, but sent another to perform that Ceremony ; at which neglect though the greatness of his spirit could scarce contain it self ; yet suppressing his choler, addressed himself to the feet of *Beſtas*, who scarce arising gave him a faint well-com ; and setting him on his left hand, (which is the upper hand with the *Turkish* Souldiery) began to propound to him his new designs, and first that it was necessary, that the present King should be deposed, and *Solyman* Crowned in his place ; that the Canons of the Imperial *Seraglio* should be reformed ; and that whereas the Children of divers Nations were yearly collected for the service of the Grand Signior, none should for the future have admission there, but the Sons of *Janizaries* : The Visier consented to all that was proposed, professing a sincere affection and reality to them, and their party, swearing upon the *Alchoran*, with the most horrid imprecations on himself, and his family, if he were not faithful to them and their designs ; which gave *Beſtas* that satisfaction that he began to persuade himself, that the Visier was really a confiding person, and one affectionate to their interest ; and so partly from this consideration, and partly out of a confidence of his own strength, and inability of the Visier to hurt him, fairly took his leave of him, and so dismissed his *Kalaba Divan*, or his confused Council. But the *Chiachia Bei* (or Lieutenant General of the *Janizaries*, and *Kara-Chians* reproved very much *Beſtas* for permitting the Visier to escape with his life, saying, he had done ill in suffering the bird to escape out of the Cage ; that he had released one, and permitted him to carry his head on his shoulders, who would shortly take

take off theirs, with many words of the like effect. But *Beſtas* slighted their reproof, as proceeding from want of courage, and the ignorance of their own power; and that the time until morning was so short, that should the Visier intend to countermine them, he was wholly unable, being unprovided both of Power and Council. The Visier being got free, went apace to the *Seraglio*, with two men only, thanking God as he walked, that he was freed from the hands of those Tyrants and Villains; and coming to the Iron gate, intending to pass through the Garden, he found it open contrary to the custom, and enquiring of the *Bostangees* or Gardiners the reason, he could learn nothing farther from them, then that it was the order of the Old Queen; who (as it appeared afterwards) expected her Confidants who might withdraw her that night into some retirement where she might remain secure from the dangers of the ensuing day. The Visier being entred, went softly to the *Sultans* apartments, and in his way by good chance met with the *Kuzlir-Agasi Solyman Aga*, the chief Eunuch of the Women, who in the dark was making his rounds about the old Queens Lodgings; by the Visiers voice *Solyman* knew who he was, but was amazed at his unseasonable Visit, yet understanding the business, thanked him for his Vigilance; adding, that he had also observed that the Old Queen contrary to her custom, was not yet gone to bed, who did at other times at two hours in the night dispose her self to rest, only this Evening she had entertained her self in company of her Eunuchs, and Favourites, with Musick, Singing and other unusual delights. Wherefore after some short deliberation, the Visier, *Solyman Aga*, and others of the Kings Eunuchs went to the quarters of the Old Queen, and offering to enter forcibly, were repulsed by the Queens Eunuchs; but *Solyman Aga* being a stout man drew his Dagger and struck the chief Chamberlain *Bash Kapa Oglar* on the face, upon which the other Eunuchs who accompanied *Solyman* entred furiously with their Daggers, at which the Eunuchs of the Queen flying, she remained alone in the Chamber, where she was committed to the Custody of the Kings Eunuchs. The fugitive Eunuchs would immediately have escaped out of the *Seraglio*, but the Gates were first shut by order of *Solyman Aga*, so that they with all other favourites of the said Queen were taken and secured in safe hands. This Victory was so secretly obtained, that they received no alarm in the Royal Lodgings, though near adjoining; so that the Visier and *Solyman Aga* went to the Chamber where the King slept, and lifting up the Antiport, made a sign of silence to the Ladies of the Guard, commanding by dumb motions that the Young Queen should be awakened (for it is the custom in the Grand Signiors Court to speak by signs, to prevent noise, and as if there were some point in it of Majesty and decency, they have practised this mute language so fully, that they are able to recount stories in it) The Ladies hereupon gently rubbing the Queens feet, raised her out of her sleep, and gave her to understand that *Solyman Aga* would speak with her; whereat the Queen surpris'd, leapt from her bed to speak with him, and was scarce informed of the business before she became so affrighted, that she could not contain her self within the bounds of moderation or silence, but with a great cry ran to take her Son as one distracted, and catching him up in her armes, cryed out, O Son, you and

I are dead; the Grand Signior likewise as a Child bewailed himself, and falling at the feet of *Solyman Aga*, said, *Lala, Lala Kurtar-beni*; which is Tutor, Tutor save me: He not without tears took his Lord into his arms, and with the Visier encouraged the Child and his Mother, protesting that they would rather die, then live to behold so horrid a ruine; and so accompanied him (some Ladies carrying before Torchés lighted in their hands, to the *Hozoda*, which is the Prefence Chamber or place where the Principal Officers of the Court attend) Upon the approach of the Torchés, the Guard which watched in this Chamber was amazed, and walking towards the light to discover what there was, perceived that the Grand Signior was coming thither, and thereupon returned again with all haste to awaken their companions, and calling them immediately to repair to their due service. The Grand Signior being seated on a Throne, which is always remaining in the Prefence Chamber; the Officers hereof (which are in number forty) presented themselves before him, desiring to know if His Majesty had any thing wherein to employ their Fidelity and Service. Hereat *Solyman Aga* said, *He that eats the Kings Bread, should apply himself to the Kings service; we suffered the Traitots to destroy Sultan Ibrahim, and now they would also take this out of our hands; To you it belongs, who are His Majesties Principal Servitors, to afford him your utmost assistance.* *Eginsî Mussapha Passa* Sword-bearer to the Grand Signior, and chief of the Prefence Chamber, a man of a Lions Heart and undaunted resolution, understood something formerly of the bad inclinations of the old Queen to wards the King, readily replied, Great Master be not troubled, tomorrow you shall see (God willing) the Heads of your Enemies at your feet. The Visier and others in the mean time after a short Consult, fell to act, the exigencie of their Affairs admitting no delays; and in the first place, Pen and Ink being brought, an Order was presented to the Grand Signior to be subscribed for arresting the *Bossangi-Pascha* as a Traitor, for having against the rule of the night kept open the Gate of the Kings Garden. This was done in an instant, he removed from his Office and another constituted in his place, and at the same time the Oath of Allegiance was administered to him, who calling together the Gardiners in number about 500. caused them also all to swear faithful obedience to the Grand Signior, and to remain all that night, keeping good Guard at the Gates and Walls of the Gardens. In the next place the *Ichoglans* were called up (who are the Grand Signiors Pages) and to proceed with the more privacy and least confusion, they went first to the Chamber of the *Capa Agasi* (who by his Office is over all the Youth of the *Seraglio*) and knocking gently at the Window, the Guards came at the noise, and demanded what the matter was? they answered, Awake the *Capa Aga*, and let him speak to us at the Window. But the *Capa Aga* would first know who they were that would speak with him: and when it was told him that it was the Visier and the *Kusîr Aga*, he answered, I am indisposed and cannot rise, but utter what you have to say at the Window; so they said, by His Majesties Order go and raise all the *Ichoglans* in the *Seraglio*, upon an important occasion; and yet the *Capa Agasi* would not stir, so that some believed him confederate in the Conspiracy; but the truth was, he was an ancient Man of 90 years, and unhealthful in his body. Wherefore

fore *Solyman Aga* cried out with a loud voice, *Aga* raise the *Ichoglans*, *Our King is ready to be taken out of our hands*; but the *Capa Agasi* persisted that he would not raise the *Ichoglans* or Pages, unless he brought a Command in writing from the King. In the Interim the Servants of the *Capa Aga* awakened, and hearing his discourse, could not contain themselves, but without farther order run to both the greater and lesser Chamber of the Pages; the *Butler* came to that which is called the greater Chamber; it was then five hours in the night when he entered in, and running to the middle of the Chamber which was 80 paces in length, he made a stop and clapped his hands together; (To make such a noise in the *Seraglio* at night is a high misdemeanor) at which some being awakened, raised up their heads, and startled at such an unusual alarm, enquired the reason of it; at which he again clapping his hands, and crying out, Arise, the Grand Signior is like to be taken out of our hands, the whole Chamber was raised; so that you might have seen all the *Ichoglans* in number above 600. to rise and run in a confused manner, some without Cloaths, some without Arms to fight, some to fly, supposing the *Janizaries* were already entered the *Seraglio*. In this amaze came a Guard of Black and White Eunuchs to the door, advising them to arm themselves with what weapons were next at hand, and there to remain until they received farther Orders. All the other Chambers of Pages and Officers were in the same confusion, and were commanded in the like manner to arm themselves. The Grand Signior all this time fearing he should be put to Death as his Father was, could not be pacified until *Mustapha Pasha* his Sword-bearer taking him by the hand, shewed him his Attendants all armed, and ready at his command; and passing by one of the Windows of the Lodgings, was descryed by a young man, who cryed out with a loud Voice (God grant our King ten thousand years of life) at which all the Chamber shouted, * *Allah, Allah*; this acclamation rang through all the *Seraglio*, so that it reached the more remote quarters of the *Drogists*, *Cooks*, *Poleaxe-men*, *Faulconers* and others; who being ready and armed as the others, answered with the like shout.

* A shout used by the Turks when they fight.

These preparations were not only in the *Seraglio*, but likewise without; for the Visier had given order to all the *Pashaws* and *Beglerbegs* and other his Friends, that without delay they should repair to the *Seraglio* with all the force they could make, bringing with them three days provisions, obliging them under pain of Death to this Duty. In a short space so great was this concourse, that all the Gardens of the *Seraglio*, the outward Courts and all the adjoining streets were filled with armed men: from *Galata* and *Tophana* came Boats and Barges loaden with Powder and Ammunition and other necessaries; so that in the Morning by Break of day appeared such an Army of Horse and Foot in the Streets, and Ships and Gallies on the Sea, as administered no small terrour to the *Janizaries*; of which being advised and seeing the concourse of the people run to the assistance of the King, they thought it high time to bestir themselves; and therefore armed a great Company of *Albaneses*, *Greeks* and other Christians, to whom they offered Money, and the Titles and Priviledges of *Janizaries*, promising to free them from *Harach*, or Impositions paid by the Christians; which Arguments were so prevalent, that most taking Arms, you might see the

Court and City divided, and ready to enter into a most dreadful confusion of a Civil War.

In the *Seraglio* all things were in good order, the Morning Devotions being finished, the *Baltagees* (who are a Guard that carry Poleaxes) called to the Pages to joyn with them, and accompany them to the Presence Chamber. These *Baltagees* were in number about 200 strong, of large stature, and of admirable agility; at whose beck the Pages ran with all alacrity to the door of the Chamber, where they at first received a repulse from the Master of the Chamber who was an Eunuch, and one faithful to the Old Queens interest, who to yield all possible furtherance towards the protection of her Person, reproved the insolence of the Rout in coming so boisterously to the Royal Lodgings: to which they unanimously answered that they would speak to His Majesty, and that it was their desire to have the Old Queen (Enemy to the King, and the *Mahometane Faith*) put to Death; at which words he being enraged, and relying on his Authority, reproved them with terms of Rebels and Traitors to their Master. *What have you to do with the Queen* (said he)? *Are you worthy to open your mouths against her Serene Name?* He reiterating these and the like words, one of this Rabble said, Kill that Cuckold, for he also is an Enemy of the Faith; and whilst one lifted up his hand to strike him, he fled by the way of the *Tarras* into the Garden, whither being pursued by five or six of them, he was overtaken, and catching him by the collar would have cut his throat, but that at his earnest entreaty they gave him so much liberty as first to cast himself at the feet of the *Sultan*: whither being dragged, he delivered to the King a Seal and a Key of Secret Treasure, and being about to say something in his own behalf and defence of his life, a bold youth of these *Baltagees* called *Jalch-Leferli* struck him on the head with his axe, and cleft it into two pieces; the others seeing this first blow given him, fell on him with their Symitters and cut him to pieces: his blood and brains were dashed on the rich Carpets, which moved fear in many, who were secretly of the Conspiracy with the Old Queen. The Young King himself ignorant of the good intentions of his Servants, at the sight of blood-shed, being yet tender-hearted, cried and closely embraced the *Selihtar* who then held him in his arms; but upon the removal of the Corps out of his sight and some smooth words, as that it was a sacrifice of love to him, and the like, his childish tears were soon wiped away. In this interim the new created *Musfi* and *Kenan Pascha* one of the Visiers of the Bench, and *Balyzade Efendi*, who was formerly Lord Chief Justice, and well affected to the *Spahes* party, entering the *Hazoda* or Presence Chamber, perceiving a tumult in His Majesties Presence with different voices and languages, for some cried in *Georgian*, others *Albanian*, *Bosnian*, *Mengrelian*, *Turkish* and *Italian*, remained in great confusion how to proceed with order and reason in this important affair; For the *Musfi* and others were of opinion that the sentence against the Old Queen was not rashly to be pronounced, and so the matter might calmly be debated, and if possible, an expedient might be found for saving her life, and securing the *Sultan*: But the Rabble impatient of delay, cried out, defer not the sentence; for otherwise we shall esteem thee as one of her adherents. By this time news was come to the Young Queen, that there had been

a fight in the Streets; who as yet doubtful of the success, and fearing if the *Janizaries* should gain the advantage, *Bezas* would revenge the blood of the Old Queen by her death, came covered with a Vail into the Presence Chamber, saying as she passed, *Is this the Reverence you owe to the King your Lord? Do you know the place where you are? What would you have of a Woman? Why do you buse your selves in the Kings Affairs?* Some presently apprehended that this was only a Plot of the Young Queen to make the World believe she would rather assist the Grand-Mother, than contrive against her, which made the Pages the more importunately to persist with the *Musti* for the *Fetfa* or sentence against her. But one of the Pages suspecting that this Woman so veiled, might be the old Queen her self, cryed out, This is she you seek for; she is in your hands, take your Revenge upon her: at which some bestirring themselves to seize her, she ran to the feet of her Son, and laying hold on him, cryed out, No, no, I am not the Grand-Mother, I am the Mother of this His Majesty; and wiping the tears from the Eyes of her Son with her Handkerchief, made signs to keep back, which restrained the forwardness of some who pressed to lay violent hands upon her. The *Musti*, who observed the carriage of the Rour, and their earnest desires which could not be resisted, feared, if he gave not his concurrence, he himself should be killed, and the rather because he overheard the old *Konan Pascha* discourse with the Visier, to the like effect. So that after some pause and Consultation with the other chief Ministers, it was resolved to supplicate His Majesty for his consent; which was done in these words; *Sir, The will of God is, that you consign your Grand-Mother into the hands of Justice, if you would have these Mutinies appeased; a little mischief is better than a great one; there is no other Remedy; God willing, the end shall be prosperous.* Pen and Ink being brought, the *Musti* wrote the sentence, and the Grand Signior subscribed it, which was that the Old Queen should be strangled, but neither cut with sword, nor bruised with blows. The writing was delivered into the hands of one of the Chamberlains, to whom by word of mouth it was ordered that they should carry the Queen out by *Cushana* (or the Gate of the Birds) so as she might not die in sight or hearing of the Grand Signior. The *Ichoglans* advancing the Royal Command on high with their hands, went out of the Presence with a great shout, crying, *Allah, Allah*, to the door of the Womens Lodgings, where they met some Black Eunuchs keeping Guard, who upon the sight of the Imperial *Firme*, and the command of *Solyman Aga*, gave them admittance, upon condition that twenty persons only should enter the Chambers. Those who were best armed went in, and passing through the Chambers of the Virgins, were met by the Queens *Buffone* with a Pistol in her hand, who demanding what they would have, they answered, the Kings Grand-Mother; she replied, I am she, and with that offered to discharge her Pistol, but it took fire only in the Pan; with that the *Ichoglans* laid hold on her, supposing her to be the Queen; but being better advised by *Solyman* the *Kazilir Aga*, and directed to the Chamber where the Queen was, the door being opened, they perceived the Room to be dark (for the Womens quarters in the *Seraglio* for the most part are made obscure and close, and Lights are burnt in them day and night) and the old Queen had at the approach of these

these Officers extinguished her Candles and got into a great Press, and there covered her self with Quilts and Carpets; but Torches being brought in, they looked all about, and descryed nothing; at which they were enraged against *Solyman* and would have killed him, saying, that he was the Cause the Queen had escaped. But *Solyman* advising them to search more narrowly, one called *Deli Dogangi*, got upon the Press, and removing the Cloaths, discovered the Queen, who had thrust her self into a corner; at which she softly thus entreats him, *O brave man be not cruel unto me*; and promised she would give to every *Ichoglan* five purses a man (each purse consisting of 500 Dollars) if they would save her life. It is not the time of ransome, Traitor, said he: and taking her by the feet, drew her forth; the Queen rising up put her hand into her Pocket, and threw out handfuls of *Zaichins*, hoping that whilst they were scrambling for the Gold she might have an opportunity to escape; some of the young men gathered up the Money, but the *Dogangi*, like a Dog of the Game, left her not, and at length though she were heavy, cast her down. The others offered at her life, and particularly an *Albanese* called *Ali Bostangi*, who seeing two great Jewels at her ears, immediately caught at them and tore them thence. They were two Diamonds of the bigness of Chestnuts cut angularly, and beneath each Diamond was a Ruby to set it off. Those ear-rings were given her by *Sultan Ashmet* in the time of her most flourishing Age, and his greatest affection. 'Tis said that such Jewels cannot be found in all the Great *Turks* Treasure, and were esteemed by the most skilful Jewellers worth a years Revenue of Grand *Cairo*. This *Ali* shewed the Jewels to his Comrade, demanding the value of them, and his Counsel whether to conceal or reveal them: but the Comrade prized them at that rate, that the stout young man could not sleep day nor night, being always in fear lest the Jewels should not be kept hid; and apprehending that they became none but the Grand Signior to wear, went and delivered them to *Solyman Aga*, who in recompense thereof, presented him with 16 *Zaichins* which he accepted, desiring also to be admitted into the Chamber of the Treasury, which was granted him. Others also plucked her, some by the hands, others by the feet, some rifled her Cloaths, for she was furnished throughout with things of great value sewed in her Garments, and especially in her Sable Furs, which contain'd also certain Magick Spells, by which she conceived she had tyed the tongues of all the Emperours living in her time. The Person who gave me this relation, informed me, that he had seen a certain lock admirably made, and engraved with the Names of *Murad* and *Sultan Ibrahim*; it was made by a famous *Gindgi*, a very ignorant Fellow, but a Superstitious, Crafty Liar, by which Arts finding access in short time he became a chief Favourite of *Sultan Ibrahim*, and from a poor Student called by the *Turks* a *Sofia*, he grew so rich in two years that none in *Constantinople* was comparable to him.

But to return to the Queen now assaulted by furious young men greedy of riches; she was in a moment despoiled of her garments; her Furs were torn off into small pieces; and being stript of her Rings, Bracelets, Garters and other things, she was left naked without a Rag to cover her, and dragged by the feet to the *Chushana*: and being

at

at the place of her execution, the young officers found themselves unprovided of a Cord to strangle her, so that crying out for a Cord, one ran to the Royal Chappel, and thence took the Cord that upheld the great Antiport of the *Mosch*, which being twined about the Queens neck, the aforefaid *Dogangi* getting upon her back, pitched her neck with his hands, whilst the others drew the Cord. The Queen though she were by this time besides her senses, and worn out with Age, being above 80 years old and without Teeth: yet she with her Gums only did bite the thumb of his left hand, which by chance came into her mouth, so hard that he could not deliver himself until with the haft of his Ponyard he struck her on the fore-head near her right eye. There were four that strangled her; but being young Executioners, laboured long to dispatch her, till at length the Queen leaving to struggle, lay stretched out, and was supposed to be dead, and so crying (*Uldi, Uldi*) she is dead, she is dead, ran to carry the News thereof to His Majesty; but being scarce out of sight the Queen raised her self up, and turned her head about; upon which the Executioners being again called back, the Cord was a second time applyed, and wrung so hard with the haft of a hatchet, that at length she was dispatched, and the News carried to the Royal Chamber. The black Eunuchs immediately took up the Corps, and in a reverent manner laid it stretched forth in the Royal *Mosch*; which about 400 of the Queens Slaves encompassing round about with howling and lamentations, tearing the hair from their heads after their barbarous fashion, moved compassion in all the Court.

This work being over, the Visier having given thanks to the *Ichoglans* or Pages for their pains, gave order to produce the Banner of *Mahomet*, which is carefully and reverently kept in the Treasury; which being produced, obliges all of that faith from seven years and upward to arm and come under it. The Banner being brought forth with a rich covering, was advanc'd with great shouts of *Allah, Allah*; and carryed by the *Ichoglans* out of the chief Gate of the *Seraglio*, where it was shown to the people, who with wonderful admiration and Devotion beheld their glorious Standard; order was also given to proclaim through the whole City the proceßion of the Heavenly Banner; for they say that the Angel *Gabriel* brought it to *Mahomet* in the time of a great War made against the Christians, as an infallible sign and evidence of Victory. The opinion of this superstitious flag so prevailed, as it brought not only the young and healthful to fight under it, but sick, and old, and Women judged themselves obliged to run to the defence of this holy Ensign. The News hereof, and the death of the Old Queen coming to the old Chamber of the *Janizaries*; several of them, and those also of the Principal heads began to murmur, that it was now necessary to lay aside their private interests, and have a respect to their faith and their souls; for should they oppose the Heavenly Banner, they should run themselves into the State of *Gaurs* or Infidels, and become liable to the same censure or punishment which is inflicted upon unbelievers. But in the new Chambers *Beſtas* endeavoured to remove this apprehension from the mind of his Soldiers, by large Presents both of Gold and Silver, perswading them to uphold their Fame and Reputation; for that the Grand Signior and
his

his Mother were Enemies to their name and designs, and resolved to abase or destroy the order of that Militia; and with assurance of Victory and encouragement against a people unarmed and undisciplined, animated them to fight; and to make the business more easie, advised them to fire the City in several parts, that so the people might be diverted and divided for safety of their own goods and dwellings. But this proposition took not with the Officers and Souldiers, who had many of them Houses and Possessions of their own in *Constantinople*, but put them into great distractions, and divisions in their Councils. In this pause came an Officer from the Grand Signior (who to venture his life, had the promise of a good reward) with a Command in writing which he threw in amongst them, and galloped away as fast as he could; crying out as he rode, He that comes not under the Banner of the Prophet is a Pagan, and his Wife divorced. The Writing was taken up and carried to the Presence of the Principal Officers, which being opened and read, was to this purpose; *Beſtas Aga I have made Paſha of Boſna, Kara-chiaus I have made Captain General of the Sea; Kul-kahya I have made Paſha of Temiſwar; and Kara Haſſan Ogle I have made Janizar Agaſi; and I require at ſight of theſe Preſents, that every one of you upon pain of death and ruine of his Family, repair to his duty and ſtation.* In this Instant came News that the old Chamber of *Janizaries* had left their ſtation and were run under the Banner without Arms, and had reſuſed *Beſtas's* Money and deſerted his Cauſe, and that the *Spahies* in great Troops and the *Jebegees* (who command the Ordnance) approached with Artillery to beat upon their Chambers. The *Spahies* came thundring in upon the *Janizaries* in remembrance of their paſt injuries, and had certainly cut them off, had not the Viſier with his Sword in his hand by good and bad words reſtrained them, and appeaſed their animoſity. The *Janizaries* of the new Chamber proclaimed their new Commander, and viſited him with their uſual form of Congratulation, running afterwards conſuſedly under the Banner. *Kara-Haſſan* the new elected *Aga* of the *Janizaries*, went to the *Seraglio* to thank the Grand Signior for the honour done him, and with ten of his Principal Friends was admitted to the Grand Signiors Preſence; who humbly kiſſing the ground, received the accuſtomed Veſts, and with ſome admonitions was fairly diſmiſſed, and ordered to reduce his *Janizaries* to better obedience. By this time *Beſtas*, *Kul-kahya*, and *Kara Chiaus* with ſome of their Favouriteſ remained wholly abandoned, looking one upon the other, full of complaints and railings, each at other for the miſcarriage of the action.

But ſince it was not now time to condole but to ſave their lives, every one made to his houſe. Firſt *Beſtas* fled to his home, where having ordered his Affairs, he cloathed himſelf in the *Albanian* faſhion, and eſcaped to the houſe of a poor man formerly his Friend and Confident; but the next day being diſcovered by a youth, was taken, and being ſet on a Mule, was with the ſcorn and deriſion of the people conducted to the Grand Signiors *Seraglio* and there ſtrangled. This perſon was held in ſo much deteſtation by the common people, that after his death the *Cooks* and inferiour ſort of Servants run Spits and Pitch-forks through his body; and plucking the hairs out of his beard, ſent them for Preſents to their acquaintance through all *Constantinople*, ſaying, Theſe

These are the hairs of that Traitor, who gloryed, that before he would lose his Head, there should be raised a Mountain of heads as high as *S^a Sophia*. But *Kulkahya* being come to his house, filled his Portmanteaux with Gold and Jewels, and accompanied with sixty horse, resolved to fly to the Mountains of *Albania*, places so inaccessible, that they have never yielded to the Turkish yoke: but finding himself hotly pursued in his journey, and that it was impossible to escape with so great a number, freely distributed a great part of his Gold upon his retinue, and thanking them for their affection and good intentions, dismissed them all excepting one Servant, with whom he journeyed with four laden horses with Gold, Jewels and other riches; and perceiving that this also was too great an incumbrance, they buried a Treasure to the value of 600. thousand Dollars in the Country as they travelled; which was afterwards found out by certain Shepherds, who disagreeing about the division thereof, the matter came to be known to the Judge of that Country, who seized upon it all and sent it to the Grand Signiors Treasury. But *Kulkahya* travelling still farther with his single Page, came to a Town, where wanting bread, and forced for the payment of it to exchange Gold, fell into a suspicion of being one of those Rebels lately escaped from *Constantinople*; which news being brought to a Captain of horse that commanded the place, he came immediately with some men to take him; but *Kulkahya* resolving not to fall into their hands alive, resisted them until he was killed by a Musket-shot, and so his head being severed from his body was sent to the Grand Signior. *Kara Chiaus* in this interim being with 200 men retired into his Garden, was assaulted by an *Aga* of the *Spahies* (called *Parmaksis*) with 500 men; but that this enterprise might be acquired with little blood, a Person was sent secretly to advise that party, that if they opposed the Royal Command, they should every one be put to death; at which the people fled and dispersed themselves. At that instant came in this *Aga* and took him, and yet comforted him with the clemency and mercy of the Grand Signior, promising also himself to intercede for him. And so bringing him to the *Seraglio* by the Garden gate, His Majesty had notice of it, and looking out of the Window and seeing him upon his knees begging pardon, the Grand Signior gave a sign to the Executioner to strangle him, which was accordingly performed. The new *Janizar Aga* who knew all the Officers formerly affected to the Rebellious party, for several nights caused some or other of them to be strangled, to the number of 38 persons, which struck such a terrour into the *Janizaries*, that for a long time after they kept themselves within the bounds of humility and obedience. And thus concluded this Tragedy, remarkable as well for the dispatch as for the action it self, being but the work of fourteen hours. And in this manner it is apparent, how the Lessons of obedience which are so carefully taught, and instilled into the minds of all those who serve and depend upon the Grand Signior are corrupted; and by the Pride, Discord and Faction of the Governours seduced from their natural Principles.

By the premisses we may consider more generally, that it hath always been the Misfortune of unlimited powers to be subject to dangers and violence, arising from the discontents and unconstancy of the Soul-diery:

diery: for they coming to be sensible of their own strength, and knowing that the power of the Emperour is but fortified with their hands and heart, like unruly beasts throw their Riders, and shew that the Principles of obedience taught them, are easily corrupted and defaced by evil persuasions, or sedition in a Commander or common Soldier. Thus we see in the time of the latter *Roman* Emperours, who usurped a power unknown in the dayes of the pure and happy constitution of that Common-wealth, and governed all by the Sword and their own lusts; few of them ended their dayes fortunately, or died in their beds and peace, without becoming a Sacrifice to the same power that first proclaimed them Emperours. And though the Mutinies and Rebellions in the *Turkish* Militia can hardly operate any durable alterations in the State (as we shall more at large hereafter discourse) yet doubtless the Tyranny in the *Ottoman* Emperours, had provoked the people long since to have proved the benefit of another Race, but that there is a strange kind of Devotion and Religion in their minds as to the *Ottoman* blood, which having been the original of their Empire and greatness, will ever be maintained in high reverence and honour. Nor is it likely that the fair Speeches and allurements of a Rebellious slave will ever prevail to persuade this people from their Religion to this Prince, or that their arms can ever be prosperous under the Ensign and Conduct of an Usurper. And may all Christians learn this Lesson from the *Turks*, and adde this principle to the Fundamentals of their Religion, as well as to their Laws. None can more experimentally preach this Doctrine to the World than *England*, who no sooner threw off her Obedience and Religion to her Prince, but (as if that virtue had been the only bar to all other Enormities and Sins) she was deprived of all other Ecclesiastical and Civil Rights, and in all her capacities and relations deflowred and prophaned by impious and unhallowed hands.

And thus having given a Relation of the *Turks* Religion and first Principles in order to their obedience to their Prince, let us proceed a little farther into the *penetralia* of the *Seraglio*, and there see what farther care is taken of the Youth, in all points of their *Education*, to fit and prepare them for the management and performance of the highest and weightiest Offices of State; which I judge to be one of the chiefest of the *Turkish* Politics, and is certainly an extraordinary support and security of the Empire.

CHAP. V.

The Education of young men in the Seraglio, out of which those who are to discharge the great Offices of the Empire are elected. It being a Maxime of the Turkish Politie, to have the Prince served by such whom he can raise without Envy, and destroy without Danger.

IT is a special point of Wisdom in Princes, to provide and prefer men of deserving Parts and Abilities to the discharge of the great and important Offices of State, not such whom chance and fortune casually throws on them, because they will not take the pains of a narrow and severe scrutiny to seek men able, and fit for trust; nor such whom flattery, riches, gifts, or nobility promote, but those whom the Prince by his own experience of their wisdom, virtues, and diligence, or the testimony of his Councillors, and other confidants, judges capable to improve their advancement to the honour of the King, and the blessing of their Country: and not like vast Mountains which hide their heads in the clouds, and yet remain without fruit, or herbage; whose barrenness makes their height accursed. Some wise Princes, and great Ministers of our modern times, have kept Rolls and Registers of the most eminent Men famed for their virtue, and knowledge in any parts, with an account of their Family, lineage, and condition, out of which, (if in their own jurisdiction) they culled and elected such, proper for their occasions and vacant Offices.

*Balay de la Cour, Leur sè-
rilité fait mau-
dire leur ele-
vation.
Cardinal
Richelieu.*

The *Turk* is not less careful in the choice of his Officers, and loves to be served by his own, such as to whom he hath given breeding, and education, and are as obliged to employ those parts in his service which he hath bestowed; whose minds he hath cultivated with wisdom and virtue, as well as nourished their bodies with food, until they arrive to a mature age, that renders the profit of his care, and expence; such as these he is served by, whom he can raise without envy, and destroy without danger.

The Youths then that are designed for the great Offices of the Empire, called by the *Turks* *Ichoglans*, must be such as are of Christian Parents, taken in War, or presented from remote parts; as I have observed that the *Algerians*, always amongst their other gifts, present some Youths whom they have taken by Piracy; the Policy herein is very obvious, because the Sons of Christians will hate their Parents being educated with other Principles and Customs; or coming from distant places have contracted no acquaintance, so that starting from their Schools into Government, they will find no Relations, or Dependencies on their Interests then that of their great Master, to whom they are taught, and necessity compells them to be faithful. In the next place, these Youths must be of admirable features, and pleasing looks, well shaped in their bodies, and without any defects of nature; For it is conceived that a corrupt and sordid soul can scarce inhabit in a serene and ingenious Aspect; and I have observed, not only in the Se-

E

raglio,

Magna est comitum amulatio, quibus primus apud principem suus locus, & Principum cui plurimi & acerrimi comites. Hac dignitas, habet vires. Magno semper electorum juvenum globo circumdari, in pace decus, in bello presidium.

raglio, but also in the Courts of great men, their personal attendants have been of comely lusty Youths, well habited, deporting themselves with singular Modesty and respect in the presence of their Master: So that when a *Pascha*, *Aga*, or *Spahiee* travels, he is alwayes attended with a comely equipage, followed by flourishing Youths, well clothed and mounted in great Numbers, that one may guess at the greatness of this Empire, by the retinue, pomp, and number of Servants which accompany Persons of Quality in their journeys; whereas in the parts of Christendom where I have travelled, I have not observed (no not in attendance of Princes) such ostentation in Servants as is amongst the *Turks*, which is the life and Ornament of a Court. And this was alwayes the custom in the Eastern Countreys, as *Q. Curtius* reports *Lib. 6. Quippe, omnibus barbaris in corporum Majestate veneratio est, magnorumq; operum non alios capaces putant. quam quos eximia specie donare natura dignata est.* But these Youths before they are admitted, are presented before the Grand Signior, whom according to his pleasure he disposes in his *Seraglio* at *Pera*, or *Adrianople*, or his great *Seraglio* at *Constantinople*, which is accounted the Imperial seat of the *Ottoman* Emperours. For these are the three Schools or Colledges of Education. Those that are prefer'd to the last named, are commonly marked out by special designation, and are a nearer step to degrees of Preferment, and are delivered to the charge of the *Capa Aga*, or chief of the White Eunuchs. The Eunuchs have the care of these Scholars committed unto them, whom they treat with an extraordinary severity; for these, being the *Censores morum*, punish every slight omission, or fault with extrem rigour. For Eunuchs are naturally cruel, whether it be out of envy to the Masculine Sex which is perfect and intire; or that they decline to the disposition of Women, which is many times more cruel and revengeful then that of men; they will not let slip the smallest *Peccadillo* without its due chastisement, either by blows on the soles of the feet, or long fastings, watchings, or other penance; so that he who hath run through the several Schools, Orders, and degrees of the *Seraglio*, must needs be an extraordinary mortified man, patient of all labours, services and injunctions, which are imposed on him with a strictness beyond the discipline that religious novices are acquainted with in Monastries, or the severity of *Capuchins*, or holy Votaries. But yet methinks these men that have been used all their lives to servitude, and subjection, should have their spirits abased, and when licensed from the *Seraglio* to places of Trust and Government, should be so acquainted how to obey, as to be ignorant how to Rule, and be dazed with the light of liberty, and overjoyed with the sence of their present condition, and past sufferings, passing from one extrem to another, that they should lose their reasons, and forget themselves and others. But in answer hereunto, the *Turks* affirm, that none know so well how to govern, as those who have learned how to obey; though at first the sence of their freedom may distract them, yet afterwards the discipline, lectures, and morality in their younger years, will begin to operate, and recollect their scattered senses into their due and natural places. But to return from whence we have a little digressed; These young men before they are disposed into their Schools, which are called *Oda*, their Names, Age, Country, and Parents are Registred in a Book, with their allowance

Oda signifies a Chamber.

allowance from the Grand Signior of four or five Aspers a day ; the Copy of this book is sent to the *Tesferdar*, or Lord Treasurer, that so quarterly they may receive their pension.

Being thus admitted they are entered into one of the two Schools, that is to say into the *Bojuck Oda*, or the *Cuchuck Oda*, which is the great Chamber, or the less; the former commonly contains 400, and the other about 200 or 250. these two Schools may be said to be of the same form or rank ; and what is taught in one, is likewise in the other ; neither of them hath the precedency ; all of them equally near to preferment ; their first lessons are silence, reverence, humble and modest behaviour, holding their heads downwards, and their hands across before them ; their Masters the *Hogias* instruct them in all the rights, discipline, and superstition of the *Mahometan* Religion, and to say their prayers, and understand them in the *Arabick* language, and to speak, read, and write *Turkish* perfectly. Afterwards having made proficiency in the former, they proceed in the study of the *Persian* and *Arabick* tongues, which may be of benefit to them if their lot chance to call them to the Government of the Eastern parts, and is a help to the improvement of their knowledge in the *Turkish*, which being of it self barren, is beholding to those tongues for its copiousness and enrichment.

The 2 Odas.

Their Cloathing is good English Cloth and Linnen, neither fine nor coarse ; their Diet is chiefly Rice, and other wholesome Meats which become the Table of Scholars, where there is nothing of superfluity, as there is nothing of want : Their manners and behaviour are strictly watched by the Eunuchs their careful Guardians, so as they cannot be familiar one with another at any time without modesty, and respect to the presence they are in ; if they go to perform the necessary offices of Nature or to the Bath, they are never out of the eye of an Eunuch, who will admit none of their nearest relations to speak with them or see them unless special License be obtained from the *Capa Aga* or chief of the Eunuchs. Their Bed-Chambers are long Chambers where all night Lamps are kept burning ; their Beds are laid in ranks one by another upon *Safraves* or Bords raised from the ground ; and between every five or six lies an Eunuch, so as conveniently to see or overhear if there be any wanton or lewd behaviour or discourse amongst them.

Cloathing and other necessities.

Their retirement. Bed-chambers

When they are arrived to some proficiency, and almost to Mans estate and strength of body, fit for manly exercises, they are trained up in handling the Lance, throwing the Iron Bar, drawing the Bow, and throwing the Gerit or Dart. In all these exercises they spend many hours, being constant in all or some of them, and are severely corrected by their Eunuchs if they seem to be remiss or negligent therein : many of them spend much time principally in drawing the Bow, in which they proceed from a weaker to one more strong, and by continual exercise and use come at last to draw Bows of an incredible strength, more by art and custom than of pure force ; and thus by constant bodily exercise they become men of great strength, health and agility, fit for the Wars, and all active employments ; amongst their other exercises, Horsemanship is a principal Lesson, both to fit in a handsome posture, and to manage their Horse with dexterity ; to

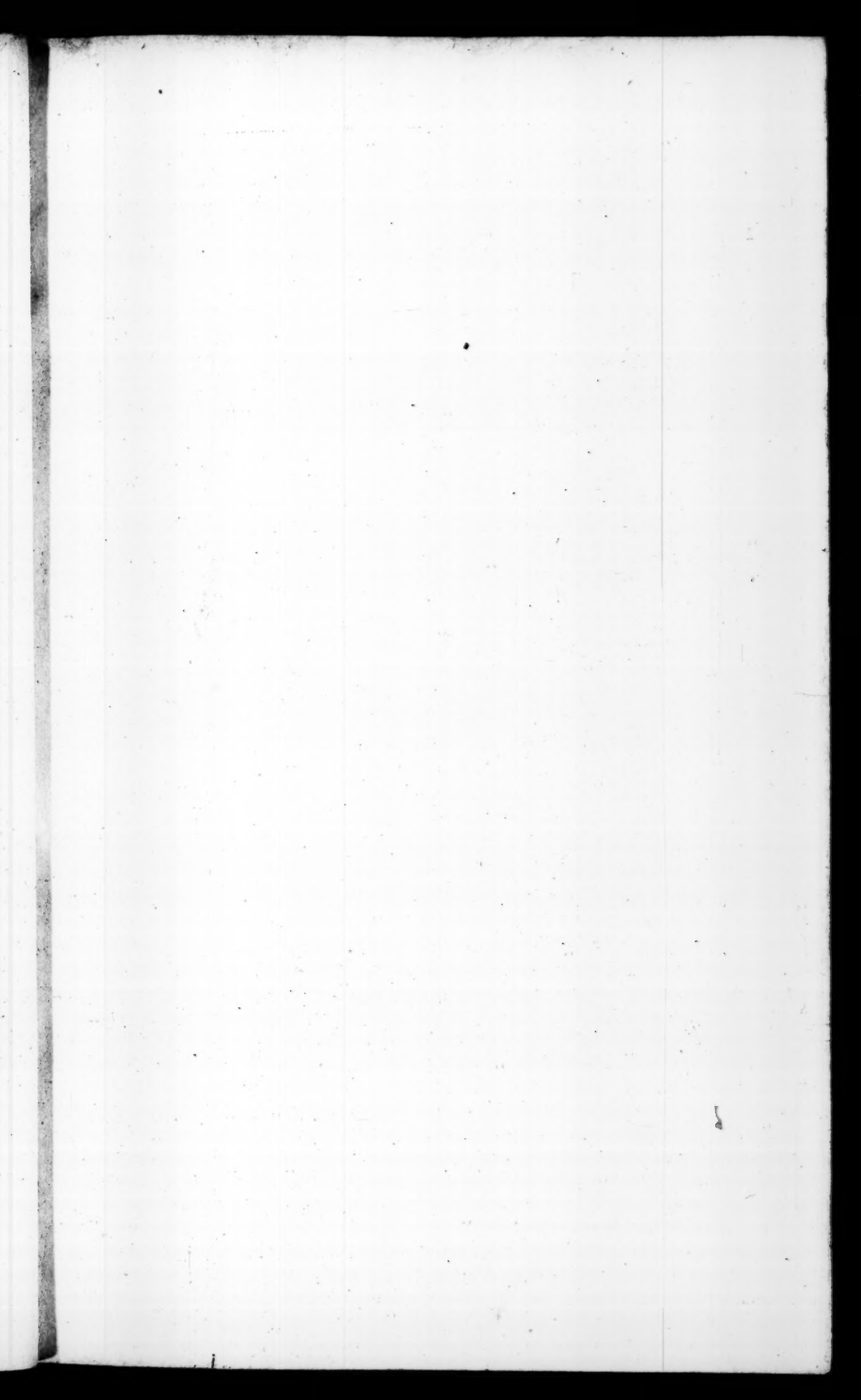
Horsemanship.

The Dart or
Gerit.

draw the Bow on Horse-back forwards, backwards, and on either side, which they learn with that agility and plianthness of their joynts in the full career or speed of the Horse as is admirable; they learn also to throw the Gerit or Dart out of their hands on Horse-back, which because it is a sport and recreation the present Grand Signior delights in above all others, every one in hopes of preferment, and in emulation one of the other, endeavours to be a Master in it, and most are become so dexterous, that they will dart a stick of above three quarters of a yard long with that force, that where it hits, it will endanger breaking a bone. The Grand Signior every day passes his time with seeing his Pages exercised in this sport, in which ordinarily one knocks another from his Horse, and seldom a day passes in which some receive not bruises or desperate wounds. This *Sultan* doth many times appoint dayes of combat between the Black Eunuchs and some of his White Pages on Horse-back, in this manner with the Gerit; and then happens such a skirmish with such emulation, each side contending for the honour of his colour, race and dignity, with that heat and courage, as if they contended for the Empire; this pastime seldom concluding without some blood. But it is to be noted, that none of these exercises are performed by any of those that belong to the two Chambers, unless within the Walls of the *Seraglio*; the other Pages who accompany the Grand Signior abroad, are such as are preferred to farther and higher Chambers, as hereafter we shall discourse. To the former Lessons of School-learning and exercise abroad, are added some other accomplishments of a Trade, handy-craft or Mystery, in which a man may be useful to the service of the Grand Signior, as to sow and embroider in Leather (in which the *Turks* exceed all other Nations) to make arrows and embroider quivers and saddles, and make all sorts of Furniture for Horses; some learn to fold up a Turbant, others to fold up, clean, and brush vests; to wash and clean in the Bath, to keep Dogs and Hawks; others to excel in the Turkish manner of Musick, and all other services which may keep them from idleness, and wherein they may be of future use to their great Master. And according hereunto *Pasbaes* and great men have been denominated and surnamed after their departure from the *Seraglio*, to their places of Office and Trust.

Such as have before made good proficiency in their Studies, and attained to a dexterity in their bodily exercises, are transplanted to the first step of preferment, which is the washing the Grand Signiors Linen, and here they first change their Cloth for Satten Vests and Cloth of Gold, and their Pay and Salary is augmented from four or five Aspers a day to eight or more; thence they pass, as places fall, to the *Hazna-Oda*, or Chamber of the Treasury, or to the *Kilar* or Dispensatory, where the Drugs, Cordials and rich Drinks for the Grand Signiors service are kept; out of these two Chambers they are elected in order to the highest and supreme place of the *Seraglio*, which is called the *Haz Oda*, which consists of forty Pages; these attend immediately on the Person of the Grand Signior, and amongst them twelve hold the chief Offices of the Court, *viz.*

1. The *Seličdar-Aga*, the Kings Sword-bearer.
2. The *Chiohadar-Aga*, he who carries his cloak or vest for rainy weather.
3. The





Ebriktar Aga or he that brings the baron to the Grand Signor



Seliktar Aga or Sword bearer



Tulbentar Aga or he who makes the Grand Signors Turbant



A page of the Hazo

3. The *Rechinthar-Aga*, he that holds his Stirrup.
4. The *Ebriſſar-Aga*, he that carries his water to drink or waſh.
5. The *Tulbentar-Aga*, he that makes up his *Turbant*.
6. The *Kem Huſar-Aga*, he who keeps the wardrobe, and overſees the waſhing the Linnen.
7. The *Cheſneghir Baſhee*, the chief Sewer.
8. *Zagergee Baſhee*, the chief over the Dogs.
9. *Turnackgee Baſchee*, he who pairs his nails.
10. *Berber Baſhee*, chief Barber.
11. *Muhafebegee Baſchee*, the chief Accomptant.
12. *Teskeregee Baſhee*, his Secretary.

There are alſo two other Officers in the Court of great reſpect, which are the *Dogan Baſhee*, or chief Falconer, and the *Humannge Baſhee*, or chief over the Baths; but theſe have their offices and Lodgings apart, and not entering into the Royal Chamber, are not capable of higher preferment.

There are nine alſo are called *Ars Agalar*, who have the priviledge of preſenting petitions like Maſters of the Requeſts; of theſe, 4 are of the *Haſoda*, as the *Shiletar Aga*, *Tchobadar Aga*, *Rikiabrar Aga*, *Tulbend Oglanij*, and the others are of different offices, as the *Hazna Kiabaiſſi*, who is the ſecond Officer of the Treafury, *Kiler Kiabaiſſi*, who is overſeer of the proviſions of *Sherbets*, Sugar, ſweet-meats, &c. *Dogangi Baſhi*, or chief Falconer, the *Hazodabaſchi*, or principal commander of the Royal Chamber, and *Kapa Agaſi* or chief Commander of the Pages; all which are firſt and neareſt to preferment, and to be employed abroad, in the Office of *Pacha*, as places are void.

Thoſe that are thus through the grace and favour of the *Sultan* arrived to the dignity of being of the Royal Chamber, where they enjoy the honour and priviledge of being conſtantly in his eye and preſence, are often preſented by him with Swords, veſts, bows and the like; and are permitted to take rewards for the interceſſions and applications they make in behalf of others. Sometimes he ſends them on meſſage to *Paiſhaes*; ſometimes for the confirmation of the Princes either in *Transilvania*, *Moldavia*, or *Walachia*; ſometimes to carry preſents to the Viſier and great men: in all which employments they are greatly entertained and preſented both with money, jewels, and rich furniture for horſes, ſo that very few of theſe forty, but in a ſhort time gain eſtates of their own, fit to equippe and furniſh them to enter into any offices of the Empire. As offices fall in order, ſupplies are made out of theſe, others riſing from lower Chambers ſucceſſively in their places; whether it be to the four moſt conſiderable Governments, which are *Cairo*, *Aleppo*, *Damaſcus* and *Buda*, or if none of theſe places be void, to be *Beglerbegs* of *Grecia*, or of *Natolia*, to be *Aga* of the *Janizaries*, *Spabeeler Agaſee*, or General of the Horſe, or to ſome ſmall *Paiſhalicks* or Governments ſcattered in ſeveral places of the Empire. But we ſhall not here need to diſcourſe of the particular offices and dignities within the power and gift of the Grand Signior, intending to make a diſtinct Chapter of the ſeveral offices, governments, dignities and places, from whence the Grand Signiors profits ariſe, that ſo we may the better deſcribe the wealth of this Empire, and the importance

The degrees of ſucceſſions greatly obſerved.

tance of those offices, for discharge of which young men are educated with the care before mentioned.

But before the conclusion of this Chapter, it will be necessary to adde, that none unless by special grace, are advanced from the *Seraglio*, until the age of about 40 years, by which time they are ripe and mature for Government, and the wantonness and heat of youth allayed. Before their departure to their places of trust, they are courted and honoured by all with presents; the Queen Mother, the *Sultanaes*, the rich Eunuchs, the Great Visier, and Officers abroad concur all to adorn them with gifts and riches at their advancement, as undoubted consequents of the Grand Signiors favour. And at the farewell, with much submission they visit the *Capa Aga*, or chief of the Eunuchs, and other principal officers of the *Seraglio*, recommending themselves in the time of their absence to their good grace and favour, desiring to live in their good opinion and friendship; and this is done with as much ceremony and complement as is exercised in the most civil parts of Christendome. For though the *Turks* out of pride and scorn, comport themselves to Christians with a strange kind of barbarous haughtiness and neglect, they are yet among themselves as courtly and precise in their own rules of complement and civility, as they are at *Rome*, or any other parts of the civilized world.

CHAP. VI.

Of the method of the Turkish Studies and Learning in the Seraglio.

WE have rather shewed in the foregoing Chapter, the education of those young Scholars, in reference to exercise of body, and dexterity in arms, then the method of their studies and speculations, according to the manner of our Semiparies and Colledges, which more respect the cultivation of the mind with the principles of vertue and morality, and the notions of sublime reason, then in the improvements of the body by assiduity of exercise, which makes them become active, and begets an agility in the management of arms. And though the latter is a business most attended to by sprightly and ingenious spirits, who know preferments in the *Ottoman* Court have always depended and still do on the virtue of the Sword; yet speculation and knowledge in Sciences are not wholly estranged from their Schools, which we shall in brief touch upon to satisfy the curiosity of our Academies, who I know would gladly be resolved what sort of Physical or Moral Philosophy, what Tongues and Sciences fall within the contemplation of that barbarous ignorance of the *Turks*. To dilucide which the most clearly that I can, according to the best information of the learned *Turks*; it is reported by the *Kalsaes* or *Pedagogues* of the *Seraglio*, that their chief design is, to instruct their Scholars in reading and writing, so as they may have some inspection into the books of their Law and Religion; especially the *Alchoran*, whereby may be produced in their minds a greater reverence to them. For being once passed from the first form of their A. B. C. and joyning

ing Syllables, they are then instructed in the *Arabian* Tongue, wherein all the secrets and treasure of their Religion and Laws are contained, and is a necessary accomplishment of a *Pasha*, or any great Minister in relation to the better discharge of his office, being thereby enabled to have an inspection into the writings and sentences of the *Kadees*, or other Officers of the Law within his jurisdiction, as well as furnished with knowledge and matter of discourse concerning religion. And to adorn these young *Candidates* of the Grand Signiors favour, with more politic and ingenious endowments, the next lesson is the *Persian* Tongue, which fits them with quaint words and eloquence, becoming the Court of their Prince, and corrects the grossness, and enriches the barrenness of the *Turkish* tongue, which in it self is void both of expression and sweetness of accent. It teaches them also a handsome and gentle deportment, instructs them in Romances, raises their thoughts to aspire to the generous and virtuous actions they read of in the *Persian* Novellaries, and endues them with a kind of *Platonick* love each to other, which is accompanied with a true friendship amongst some few, and with as much gallantry as is exercised in any part of the world. But for their Amours to Women, the restraint and strictness of Discipline, makes them altogether strangers to that Sex; for want of conversation with them, they burn in lust one towards another, and the amorous disposition of youth wanting more natural objects of affection, is transported to a most passionate admiration of beauty wheresoever it finds it, which because it is much talked of by the *Turks*, we will make it a distinct discourse by it self. The books they read commonly in the *Persian* language, are, *Danishen*, *Schahidi*, *Pend-attar*, *Giulistan*, *Bostan Hafiz*, and the *Turkish* books called *Mulemma*, or a mixture of the *Arabian* and *Persian* words both in prose and verse, facetious and full of quick and lively expressions. Of these sorts of books those most commonly read are called *Kirkwizar*, *Humainname*, or *delile we Kemine*, *El fulceale*, *Seidbatal*, and various other Romances: these are usually the study of the most airy and ingenious spirits amongst them. Those others who are of a complexion more melancholick and inclinable to contemplation, proceed with more patience of method, and are more exact in their studies, intending to become Masters of their Pen, and by that means to arrive to honour and office either of *Resit Efendi*, or Secretary of State, Lord Treasurer, or Secretary of the Treasury, or Dispensatory, &c. or else to be *Emanms* or Parish Priests of some principal Moschs of Royal foundation, in which they pass an easie, quiet and secure life, with a considerable competency of livelihood. Others aim in their studies to become *Hazifizi*, which signifies a Conserver of the *Alchoran*, who get the whole *Alchoran* by heart, and for that reason are held in great esteem, and their persons as sacred as the place which is the Repository of the Law.

Those who are observed to be more addicted to their Books then others, are named by them *Talibulilmi*, or lovers of Philosophy; though very few amongst them arrive to any learning really so called, yet they attain to the degree of *Ginzchon* or Readers of the *Alchoran*, for benefit and relief of the souls of those departed, who for that end hath bequeathed them Legacies. At certain houses they read Books that

treat

treat of the matters of their Faith, and render them out of *Arabick* into *Turkish*, and these Books are *Schurut*, *Salat*, *Mukad*, *Multek*, *Hidaie*, &c. which they descant upon in an Expository manner; instructing the more ignorant and of lower form, by way of Catechism. They have also some Books of Poetry written both in *Persian* and *Arabick*, which run in Rhime and Meeter, like the Golden Verses of *Pythagoras*, containing excellent sentences of Morality, being directions for a godly life, and contemplation of the miseries and fallacies of this world, which many of them commit to memory, and repeat occasionally as they fall into discourse. For other Sciences, as Logick, Physick, Metaphysick, Mathematicks, and other our University Learning, they are wholly ignorant; unless in the latter, as far as Musick is a part of Mathematicks, whereof there is a School apart in the *Seraglio*. Only some that live in *Constantinople* have learned some certain rules of Astrology, which they exercise upon all occasions, and busie themselves in Prophecies of future contingencies of the Affairs of the Empire, and the unconstant estate of great Ministers, in which their predictions seldom divine grateful or pleasing stories. Neither have the wisest and most active Ministers or Souldiers amongst them, the least inspection into Geography, whereby to be acquainted with the situation of Countreys or disposition of the Globe, though they themselves enjoy the possession of so large a proportion of the Universe. Their Sea-men, who seldom venture beyond sight of Land (unless they be those of *Barbary*, who are *Renegadoes* and practised in the Christian Arts of Navigation) have certain *Sea-carts* ill framed, and the *Capes* and *head-lands* so ill laid down, that in their Voyages from *Constantinople* to *Alexandria*, the richest place of their Trade, they trust more to their eye and experience, then the direction of their Maps; nor could I ever see any Cart of the black Sea made either by *Turk* or *Greek*, which could give the least light to a knowing Seaman, so as to encourage him according to the rules of Art, to lay any confidence thereon in his Navigation.

The Art of Printing (a matter disputable, whether it hath brought more of benefit or mischief to the world) is absolutely prohibited amongst them, because it may give a beginning to that subtlety of Learning which is inconsistent with, as well as dangerous to the grossness of their Government, and a means to deprive many of their livelihood, who gain their bread only by their Pen, and occasion the loss of that singular Art of fair Writing, wherein they excel or equal most Nations: the effect of which is evident amongst the Western people where Printing hath taken footing. And though there be few Historians amongst them who have any knowledge of past-times, or the being of other Empires before the *Ottoman*, mixing all stories in confusion together (as we have said before) without distinction of Persons, or respect of Chronology; yet as to the successes and progress of Affairs in their own dominions, they keep most strict Registers and Records, which serve them as presidents and rules for the present Government of their Affairs.

And thus the Reader may sound the depth of the *Turks* Philosophy, who though they reach not those contemplations of our profound *sophies*, have yet so much knowledge as neither to be over-reached in their

their Treaties with the wits of the World, nor for want of good Conduct of Affairs lose one inch of their Empire.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Affection and Friendship the Pages in the Seraglio bear each other.

SINCE in the fore-going Chapter we have made mention of the amorous disposition that is to be found among these youths each to other, it will not be from our purpose to acquaint the Reader, that the Doctrine of Platonick love hath found Disciples in the Schools of the *Turks*, that they call it a passion very laudable and virtuous, and a step to that perfect love of God, whereof mankind is only capable, proceeding by way of love and admiration of his image and beauty enstamped on the creature. This is the colour of virtue, they paint over the deformity of their depraved inclinations; but in reality this love of theirs, is nothing but libidinous flames each to other, with which they burn so violently, that banishment and death have not been examples sufficient to deter them from making demonstrations of such like addresses; so that in their Chambers, though watched by their Eunuchs, they learn a certain language with the motion of their eyes, their gestures and their fingers, to express their amours; and this passion hath boiled sometimes to that heat, that jealousies and rivalties have broken forth in their Chambers without respect to the severity of their Guardians, and good orders have been brought into confusion, and have not been again redressed, untill some of them have been expelled the *Seraglio* with the Tippets of their Vests cut off, banished into the Islands, and beaten almost to death.

Nor is this passion only amongst the young men each to other; but Persons of eminent degree in the *Seraglio* become inveigled in this sort of love, watching occasions to have a sight of the young Pages that they fancy, either at the Windows of their Chamber, or as they go to the *Mosque*, or to their washings or baths; offer them service and presents, and so engage them as to induce them to desire to be made of the retinue of him that uses this Courtship towards them, which they many times obtain, and being entertained in the service of a Master who so highly fancies and admires them, they become often sharers with him in his riches and fortune.

The Grand Signiors themselves have also been slaves to this inordinate passion. For *Sultan Morat* became so enamoured of an *Armenian* Boy called *Musa* as betrayed him, though otherwise a discreet Prince, to a thousand follies; and at another time preferred a youth for his beauty only from the Novitiate of *Galata*, to be one of the Pages of his *Haz Oda* or Chamber of his Royal Presence, and in a short time made him *Silahdar Aga* or Sword-bearer, one of the greatest Offices in the *Seraglio*. And this present *Sultan* became so enamoured of a *Constantinopolitan* youth, one of the Pages of his *Musicians* School, called *Kuloglu*, or Son of a slave, that he made him his chief Favourite, never could content himself without his Company, Clothed him like himself,

made him ride by his side, commanded all to present and honour him, in the same manner as if he had made him Companion of the Empire.

This passion likewise reigns in the Society of Women; they die with amorous affections one to the other; especially the old Women court the young, present them with rich Garments, Jewels, Money, even to their own impoverishment and ruine, and these darts of *Cupid* are shot through all the Empire, especially *Constantinople*, the *Seraglio* of the Grand Signior, and the apartments of the *Sultans*.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Mutes and Dwarfs.



A mute A dwarf

BEside the Pages, there is a sort of Attendants to make up the *Ottoman* Court, called *Bizbanis* or *Mutes*; men naturally born deaf, and so consequently for want of receiving the sound of words are dumb: These are in number about 40, who by night are lodged amongst the Pages in the two Chambers, but in the day time have their stations before the *Mosque* belonging to the Pages, where they learn and perfect themselves in the language of the *Mutes*, which is made

made up of several signs in which by custom they can discourse and fully express themselves; not only to signify their sense in familiar questions, but to recount stories, understand the Fables of their own Religion, the Laws and Precepts of the *Alchoran*, the name of *Mahomet*, and what else may be capable of being expressed by the Tongue. The most ancient amongst them, to the number of about eight or nine, are called the Favourite *Mutes*, and are admitted to attendance in the *Haz Oda*; who only serve in the place of *Buffons* for the Grand Signior to sport with, whom he sometimes kicks, sometimes throws in the cisterns of water, sometimes makes fight together like the combat of *Clinias* and *Dametas*. But this language of the *Mutes* is so much in fashion in the *Ottoman* Court, that none almost but can deliver his sense in it, and is of much use to those who attend the Presence of the Grand Signior, before whom it is not reverent or seemly so much as to whisper.

The Dwarfs are called *Ginge*; these also have their quarters amongst the Pages of the two Chambers, until they have learned with due reverence and humility to stand in the Presence of the Grand Signior. And if one of these have that benefit, as by Nature's fortunate error to be both a Dwarf, and dumb, and afterwards by the help of Art to be castrated and made an Eunuch, he is much more esteemed, then if Nature and Art had concurred together to have made him the perfectest creature in the world; one of this sort was presented by a certain *Pasha*, to the Grand Signior, who was so acceptable to him and the Queen Mother that he attired him immediately in Cloth of Gold, and gave him liberty through all the Gates of the *Seraglio*.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Eunuchs.

THis libidinous flame of depraved nature, is so common a disease amongst the *Turks*, and so ancient a Vice, that both for state and prevention of this unnatural crime, it hath not been esteemed safe or orderly in the Courts of Eastern Princes to constitute others for the Principal Officers of their Household then Eunuchs: the like is observed in the *Seraglio* of the Grand Signior, where two Eunuchs especially have the Principal Command, and are persons of the highest and eminentest esteem, *viz.* the *Kuzlir-Agass*, who is superintendent over the Women, and is a Black Eunuch.



Kuzir Aga or Black Eunuch of the women

The other is *Capa Agasi* or Master of the gate, who is White, and commands all the Pages and White Eunuchs residing in the Court; Under him are all the Officers that are Eunuchs; as first the *Haz Oda-baschi* or Lord Chamberlain, who commands the Gentlemen of the Bed-chamber.

2. The *Serai Kiabaisi*, Lord Steward of the household, who oversees the Chambers of the Pages, and the *Seferli odasi*, or the Chambers of those Pages who are designed to follow the Grand Signior upon any journey, and of these he hath care to see provided of Cloaths and all other necessaries for the service they undertake.

3. The *Haznadar Bashi*, or Lord Treasurer of the *Seraglio*, who commands those Pages that attend the Treasury; I mean not that which is of present use, as to pay the Souldiery, or serve the publick and present occasions of the Empire, for that is in the hand of the *Testerdar*; but that riches that is laid apart for the expences of the Court, and that which is amassed and piled up in several rooms of the *Seraglio*, of which there have been Collections and additions in the time almost of every Emperour, distinguished and divided by the names of the *Sultans*, through whose industry and frugality they had been acquired; but this wealth is conserved as sacred, not to be used or exposed, unless on occasions of extream emergency.

4. The

4. The *Kilargi Basbi*; that is, the chief Commander over the Pages, to whose care the charge of the Dispensatory is committed, or expences for the daily provisions. Other Officers there are of Eunuchs; as he that is first Master of Scholars for their books, called *Ikingi Capa oglani* and his Usher; the chief *Miergidgi* or Priest of the Grand Signiors *Mosque*; under whom are two other assistants, for cleansing and well ordering of the *Mosques*.

These are the only Officers of the White Eunuchs, the others are of the commonalty, which are in number about fifty, and have ordinarily twelve Aspers a day pay, which also are augmented according to the *Wakfi* or Legacies of the deceased. Those that are Curates of the Royal *Mosques*, and have pluralities of benefices of that nature, have sometimes a revenue of a 100 *chequins* a day: among these also due order is observed, the younger or Junior's in the *Seraglio*, always giving respect and reverence to Seniority.

Of the Black Eunuchs.

THE Black Eunuchs are ordained for the service of the Women in the *Seraglio*; as the White are to the attendance of the Grand Signior, it not seeming a sufficient remedy by wholly dismembring them, to take the Women off from their inclinations to them, as retaining some relation still to the Masculine Sex, but to create an abhorrency in them; they are not only castrated, but Black, chosen with the worst features that are to be found among the most hard-favoured of that *African* race. The prime Officer of them all, as we have said before, is the *Kuzlir Aga*, or Master of the Maids or Virgins.

2. *Valide Agasi*, the Eunuch of the Queen Mother.

3. *Schahzadeler Agasi*, or the Eunuch to whose charge is committed the Royal Progeny, and in whose custody at present are three Sons of *Sultan Ibrahim*, Brothers to the present Emperour, viz. *Solyman*, on whom the *Turks* at present found their principal hopes and expectation; *Bajanet* and *Orchan*, the Mother of which two last is still living, and confined to the old *Seraglio* in *Constantinople*, which is the Monastery of the decayed Wives and Mistresses of former Grand Signiors, from whence there is no redemption, until either their Sons die, or by good fortune one becomes Emperour.

4. *Is Fawza Agasi*, or the Eunuch that is Treasurer to the Queen Mother, and commands those Damsels that are Servants in the said Chamber.

5. *Kilar Agasi*, or he that keeps the Sugar, Serbets and Druggs of the Queen Mother.

6. *Bujuck Oda Agasi*, commander of the greater Chamber.

7. *Kiatchuk Oda Agasi*, commander of the lesser Chamber.

8. *Basb Capa Oglani*, the chief Porter of the Womens apartment.

9. & 10. Two *Mejgidgi Barchi*, or the two *Emanms* or Priests of the Royal *Mosque* belonging to the Queen Mother, ordained for the Womens Prayers.

The Apartments of the Women.*The habit of a Lady in the Seraglio*

ANd since I have brought my Reader into the quarters of these Eunuchs, which are the Black guard of the sequestred Ladies of the *Seraglio*, he may chance to take it unkindly, should I leave him at the door, and not introduce him into those apartments, where the Grand Signiors Mistresses are lodged : And though I ingenuously confess my acquaintance there (as all other my conversation with Women in *Turky*) is but strange and unfamiliar ; yet not to be guilty of this discourtesie, I shall to the best of my information write a short account of these Captivated Ladies, how they are treated, immured, educated and prepared for the great atchivements of the *Sultans* affection; and as in other stories the Knight consumes himself with combats, watching and penance to acquire the love of one fair Damsel ; here an Army of Virgins make it the only study and business of their life to obtain the single nod of invitation to the Bed of their great Master.

The Reader then must know that this Assembly of fair Women (for it is probable there is no other in the *Seraglio*) are commonly prizes of the Sword, taken at Sea and at Land, as far fetched as the *Turk* commands, or the wandering *Tartar* makes his excursions, composed almost of

of as many Nations as there are Countries of the world; none of which are esteemed worthy of this Preferment, unless beautiful and undoubted Virgins.

As the Pages before mentioned are divided into two Chambers, so likewise are these Maids into two *Odaes*, where they are to work, sew, and embroider, and are there lodged on *Safawes*, every one with her bed apart, between every five of which is a *Kadun* or grave Matron laid to oversee and hear what actions or discourse passes either immodest or undecent; Besides this School they have their Chambers for Musick and Dancing, for acquiring a handsome air in their carriage and comportment, to which they are most diligent and intent, as that which opens the door of the *Sultan's* affections, and introduces them into Preferment and Esteem.

Out of these, the Queen Mother chooses her Court, and orderly draws from the Schools such as she marks out for the most beauteous, facetious, or most corresponding with the harmony of her own disposition, and prefers them to a near attendance on her Person, or to other Offices of her Court. These are always richly attired and adorned with all sort of precious stones, fit to receive the addresses and amours of the *Sultan*: over them is placed the *Kadun Kabia* or Mother of the Maids, who is careful to correct any immodest or light behaviour amongst them, and instructs them in all the Rules and Orders of the Court.

When the Grand Signior is pleased to dally with a certain number of these Ladies in the Garden, *Hulvet* is cryed, which rings through all the *Seraglio*, at which word all people withdraw themselves at a distance, and Eunuchs are placed at every avenue, it being at that time death to approach near those walks. Here the Women strive with their Dances, Songs and Discourse to make themselves Mistresses of the Grand Signior's affection, and then let themselves loose to all kind of lasciviousness and wanton carriage, acquitting themselves as much of all respect to Majesty as they do to modesty.

When the Grand Signior resolves to choose himself a Bed-fellow, he retires into the Lodgings of his Women, where (according to the story in every place reported, when the Turkish *Seraglio* falls into discourse) the Damsels being ranged in order by the Mother of the Maids, he throws his handkerchief to her, where his eye and fancy best directs, it being a token of her election to his bed. The surprized Virgin snatches at this prize and good fortune with that eagerness, that she is ravished with the joy before she is deflowered by the *Sultan*, and kneeling down first kisses the handkerchief, and then puts it in her bosom, when immediately she is congratulated by all the Ladies of the Court, for the great honour and favour she hath received. And after she hath been first washed, bathed and perfumed, she is adorned with Jewels, and what other attire can make her appear glorious and beautiful; she is conducted at night, with Musick and Songs of her Companions chanting before her to the Bed-chamber of the *Sultan*, at the door of which attends some Favourite Eunuch, who upon her approaching gives advice to the Grand Signior, and permission being given her to enter in, she comes running and kneels before him, and sometimes enters in at the feet of the Bed, according to the ancient ceremony,

remony, or otherwise as he chanceth to like her, is taken in a nearer way with the Embraces of the Grand Signior.

This private entertainment being ended, she is delivered to the care of the *Kadan Kabia* or Mother of the Maids, by whom she is again conducted back with the same Musick as before, and having first washed and bathed, hath afterwards the lodging and attendants that belongs to *Hunkiar Asa-kisi*, that is, the Royal Concubine; if it be her good fortune to conceive and bring forth a Son, she is called *Hafaki Sultana*, and is honoured with a solemn Coronation, and Crowned with a small Coronet of Gold beset with precious Stones. Other Ladies who produce like fruits from the Grand Signiors bed, have not yet the like honour, but only the name of *Bash Hafaki*, *Inkingi Hafaki*, the first and second Concubine, and so forward.

The Daughters that are born from the Grand Signior, are oftentimes at four or five years of Age wedded to some great *Pasha* or *Beglerbeg* with all the Pomp and solemnities of Marriage, who from that time hath care of her Education; to provide a Palace for her Court, and to maintain her with that state and honour as becomes the dignity of a Daughter to *Sultan*. At this tenderness of Age, *Sultan Ibrahim*, Father of the present Grand Signior, Married three of his Daughters; one of which called *Gheaber Han Sultan*, hath had already five Husbands, and yet as is reported by the World, remains a Virgin; the last Husband deceased was *Ishmael Pasha*, who was slain in the passage of the River *Raab*; and is now again Married to *Gurgi Mahomet Pasha* of *Buda* a man of 90 years of Age, but rich and able to maintain the greatness of her Court, though not to comply with the youthfulness of her bed, to which he is a stranger, like the rest of her preceding Husbands.

After the Death of the Grand Signior, the Mothers of Daughters have liberty to come forth from the *Seraglio* and marry with any person of Quality; but those who have brought forth Sons, are transplanted to the old *Seraglio*, where they pass a retired life without redemption; unless the Son of any of those Mothers by death of the first heir, succeeding, release his Mother from that restraint, and make her sharer with him in all his happiness and glory.

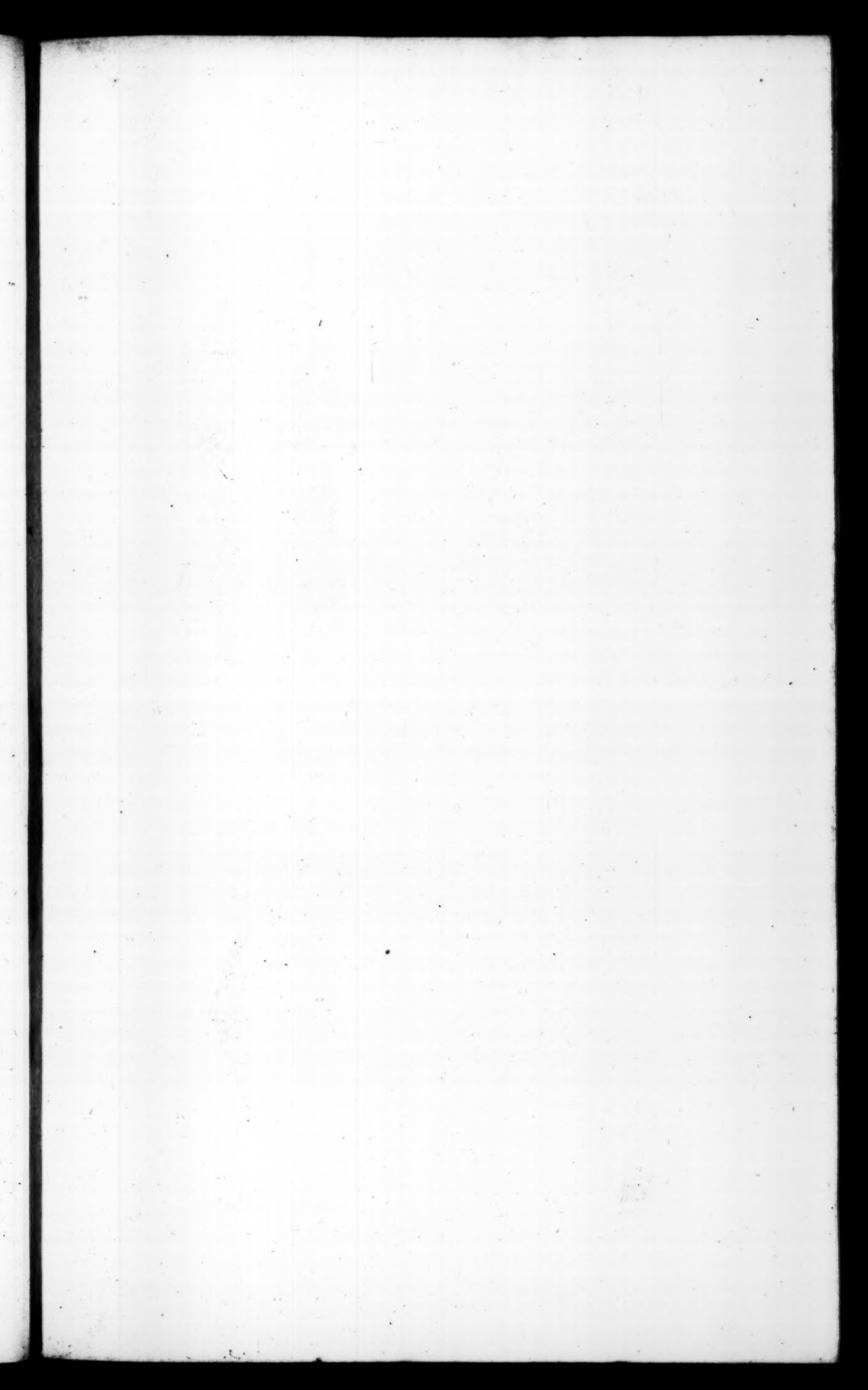
CHAP. X.

Of the Agiam-Oglans.

WE have hitherto spoken of the *Ichoglans* or Pages, Mutes, Dwarfs, Eunuchs, and the Feminine Court; it will be now necessary to speak of the under Officers and Servants called *Agiam Oglans*, who are designed to the meaner uses of the *Seraglio*. These are also Captives taken in War, or bought of the *Tartar*, but most commonly the Sons of Christians taken from their Parents at the Age of ten or twelve years, in whom appearing more strength of body than of mind, they are set apart for labour and menial services: These are,

1. Porters.
2. *Bostangi's* or Gardiners.
3. *Baltagi's* or Hatchermen, who cut and carry Wood.

4. *Argees*





The Bostange: Bashaw or Head of the Gardiners



A Holvagi or Confectioner of the Seraglio



*A Huseini or an Officer employed by the
Grand Vizier in messages*



The habit of an Agiamoglan

4. *Atgees* or Cooks, with all the Offices of the Kitchen.
 5. *Paicks* and *Solacks*.
 6. Butchers.
 7. *Holvagees* or Confectioners.
 8. The Attendants of the Hospital of sick Pages.
- And all other set apart for servile Offices.

These are seldom the Sons of natural born *Turks*, but yearly collected (as I said) from the increase of poor Christians in the *Morea* and *Albania*; by which means those Countries are greatly dispeopled; the yearly number of those thus collected, amount most commonly, as I am given to understand, to about 2000. which being brought to *Constantinople*, are first presented before the *Visier*, who (according as his humor directs him) are placed in divers Stations, either in the *Seraglioes* of *Galata*, *Okmedon*, or *Adrianople*; others are put forth to learn divers Trades in the City; others to be Sea-men, and learn Navigation; others especially are placed in the great *Seraglio*, where they are made to serve in the Stables, in the Kitchen, to dig in the Gardens, to cleave Wood, to row in the Grand Signiors Barge, and to do what other services they are commanded by the Superiors set over them, called *Oda-bashtes*, who are men of ancients standing then the rest, having about fifteen Aspers a day Salary, two Vests of Cloth a year, and two pieces of Linnen Cloth for shirts and handkerchiefs, &c. and these are subject to the *Bostangi Pasha*, who is the head and absolute Commander of all those who have the name of *Bostangees* or Gardeners, of which there may be 10000 in and about the *Seraglioes* and Garden of the Grand Signior.

Of these *Bostangees*, some are raised to a higher degree, and called *Hafaki*, which signifies Royal, and attend only to messages sent by the Grand Signior himself, and are men of special authority. Their Habit or Cloathing nothing differs from the *Bostangees*, unless in the fineness of their Cloth, their Collar and Girdle, according to this Picture.

The power of the *Bostangi Pasha* is very great; for though he himself arose but from the *Agiamoglans*, and wore a felt Cap, yet he hath the command of all the Grand Signiors Gardens and Houses of pleasure, over-sees all his Water-works, and hath power and jurisdiction along the *Bosphorus*, unto the mouth of the Black Sea, commands also the Country at a large distance from *Constantinople*; having power to punish all debaucheries and extravagancies in and about the Country Villages, and is capable by the Grand Signiors favour to become *Pasha* of *Grand Cairo*, *Babylon*, *Buda*, &c. and of the first degree which is *Visier Azem*.

The *Agiamoglans* who are designed to the Grand Signiors *Seraglio*, are of the choicest amongst the whole number, the strongest bodies and most promising Aspects, and are distributed into several Companies as they want to make up their complement. This discipline is very severe and strict, so that they are taught obedience and readiness to serve, with watchings, fastings and other penances.

Their cloathing is of coarse Cloth made at *Salonica*, anciently called *Theffalonica*; their Caps of Felt, after the form of a Sugar-loaf, of a hair colour, according as the Picture here describes; some of them are taught

taught to Read and Write, who are esteemed the most acute and fit to receive ingenious learning, but the most part are exercised in activity of body, in running, leaping, wrestling, throwing the Iron Bar, and other agility wherein the strength and activity of body is best practised. Their Lodgings are under several Pent-houses or sheds, built under the Walls of the *Seraglio*, their Diet is flesh and rice, sufficient though not luxurious. Out of these belonging to the *Seraglio* none are drawn out for *Janizaries*, but are sometimes preferred to service of *Pashas* for their fidelity or good deserts, and by those Masters arise to considerable riches, and commodious manner of livelihood; others of these in great numbers are made use of for attendance on the Grand Signiors Tents, when he goes to the Wars, and in other Journeys are useful for the management of the Grand Signiors carriages and traveling necessities. Such *Agiamoglans* (as we have said before) that are distributed into other quarters besides the Royal *Seraglio*, are principally designed as they grow ripe, and of strength of body to be made *Janizaries* in the place of the deceased; so that their principal education is in order thereunto, of whom we shall speak more largely when we treat of the Militia.

The names of the *Agiamoglans* are written in a book, with the places where they are distributed, their several Pays of two, three, or five Aspers a day, which book is under-written by the Grand Signior, and consigned to the *Testerdar* or Lord Treasurer, who pays their Salaries every three months, being obliged at that time to enquire who is dead or removed, and so accordingly to make a true report to the Grand Signior.

And thus I have given you a brief account of the Grand Signiors *Seraglio* and the Regiment of it, which if well considered and weighed, is one of the most Politick constitutions in the World, and none of the meanest supports of the *Ottoman* Empire; which relation I had from the mouth of one who had spent nineteen years in the Schools of the *Seraglio*. I must confess I have not treated so amply thereof as the subject might require, because the Rules and Oeconomy observed among the Women, Mutes, Eunuchs and other of the retired apartments, I conceive to be a kind of digression from my purpose, my intention being principally to describe the Government, Maxims, and Policies of the *Turk*. And therefore I proceed to treat of the diversities of Offices and Places of great Riches and Trust, which remain in the power of the *Sultan* to confer on those Favourites, Minions, and Creatures, whom thus at his own charge he hath nourished like a Father from their infancy to invest in their riper years with great honours, for security of his own Person; and flourishing estate of his Dominions.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Visier Azem or Prime Visier, his Office, the other six Visiers of the Bench, and of the Divan or place of Judicature.



The Prime Vizier

THe prime Visier called in *Turkish* Visier *Azem*, is as much as chief Councillour; he is sometimes termed the Grand Signiors Deputy or Representative, or *Vicarius Imperii*, because to him all the power of the *sultan* is immediately devolved; there is no other solemnity, as I know of, in the creating a Visier then the delivery of the Grand Signiors Seal, which he alwayes carries about him in his bosom, on which is engraven the Emperours name, by which he becomes invested in all the power of the Empire, and can without the formality and process of Law remove all obstacles and impediments which hinder the free sway of his Government. It hath alwayes been the Policy of the great Princes of the East, to erect one as Superintendent over all the rest of their Ministers; so *Daniel* was constituted by *Darius* over the Presidents and Dan. c. 6. Princes, because of the admirable spirit and wisdom that was in him: and *Joseph* was made Chief Governour and absolute Commander over all *Egypt*, and by this means those Princes who gave themselves much

over to softness and luxury, could with more ease demand account of miscarriages in the rule of their Empire, it being their Policy to constitute one on whom all the blame of miscarriages in Government might be thrown.

The first constitution that we meet with in History of the first Visier, was in the time of *Amurath* the third King of the *Turks*, who passing into *Europe* with his Tutor called *Lala Schabin*, he made him his chief Councillour, and committed to him the charge of his Army, with which he won *Adrianople* formerly called *Orestias*, and ever since the Grand Signior hath continued to maintain that Office of Visier, using that common appellation of *Lala*, which signifies Tutor, whensoever in familiar discourse he speaks to him.

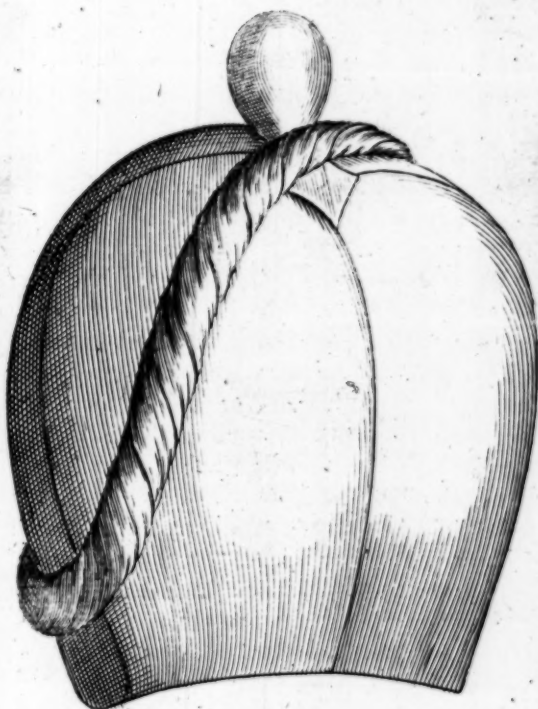
There are besides the first, commonly six other Visiers who are called Visiers of the Bench, that have no power nor authority in the Government, but only are grave men, that have perhaps had Charges and Offices, and are knowing in the Laws, and sit together with the first Visier in the *Divan* or Court where causes are tryed, but are mute and cannot give their sentence or opinion in any matter unless the first Visier please to demand their Council or judgment in point of Law; which he seldom does, not to disparage his own reason and experience. Their pay proceeds from the Grand Signiors Treasury, and is not above 2000 Dollars a year: any of these six can write the Grand Signiors *Firme* or *Autogra* upon all commands or decrees that are sent abroad; and because their riches are but moderate, and the Office they are in treats not much with the dangerous parts of State, they live long without envy or emulation, or being subject to that inconstancy of fortune and alteration, to which greater degrees of place are exposed. And yet when any great matter is in Consult, and of considerable importance, these six with the first Visier, the *Mufti* and *Caddeefcheers* or Lords Chief Justices, are admitted into the Cabinet Council, and are often permitted freedom to deliver their opinions on the matter of question.

The state and greatness the Prime Visier lives in is agreeable to the honour of him whom he represents, having commonly in his Court about 2000 Officers and Servants; when he appears in any solemnity or publick show, he carries on his Turbant before two Feathers, as the Grand Signior wears three set on with a handle of Diamonds and other rich Stones, and before him are carryed three Horse tails called the *tugh* upon a long staffe, upon the top of which is a gilded knob; the like distinction of honour is permitted only to the three other principal *Paschaes* within their jurisdiction; viz. the *Pascha* of *Babylon*, of *Cairo*, and of *Buda*; the other inferiour *Paschaes* have only one horse tail carryed before them, without other distinction or badge of Authority; and these three forementioned *Paschaes* have a right to be Visiers of the Bench, and can take their places in the *Divan* when the time of their Offices are expired, and any of them found at the Court in entire grace and favour.

The Prime Visier as he is the representative of the Grand Signior, so he is the head or mouth of the Law; to him appeals may be made, and any one may decline the ordinary course of justice, to have his case decided by his determination; unless the Visier through the multiplicity

tiplicity of his affairs, and the small consideration of the case, thinks fit to refer it to the Law. And that he may evidence his care of the publick good, he is alwayes present at the *Divan* four times a week; that is, *Saturday, Sunday, Monday, Tuesday*, and the other dayes (excepting *Friday*) keeps *Divan* in his own house, so diligent and watchful are these men to discharge the Acts of Justice, and their own Office.

He is attended to the *Divan*, which is a Chamber of the *Seraglio*, by a great number of *Chiausfes* and their Commanders in chief, who are a sort of Pursevants and other Officers who only serve to attend him to the *Divan* called *Muta faraca*, and may be termed Serjeants or Tipstaffes; as he descends from his horse and enters the *Divan*, or upon his return goes into his house, he is with a loud voice of his Attendants prayed for, and wished all happiness and long life, not unlike the salutations the *Roman* Souldiers used to their Emperours; *Cum sub auspiciis Caesaris omnia prospera & felicia precabantur*. When he is set upon the Bench, all causes are brought before the *Caddeefcheer* who is Lord Chief Justice, and by him all judgments pass, unless the Prime Visier shall think the cause proper for his cognifance, or shall disapprove at any time the sentence of the judge; and then by virtue of his unlimited power he can reverse the Verdict and determine as he pleases. All Officers in the *Divan* wear a strange sort of dress upon their heads, called in *Turkish* *Mugevezee*, which for the most lively description, is here delineated before you.



A. Turbant

And

And this shall in short serve for what is necessary to speak of the *Divan* in this place, in regard we only touch upon it for the better explanation of the *Visiers Office*.

The Prime *Visier* hath his power as ample as his Master who gives it him, except only that he cannot (though he is the Elder Brother of all *Pasbaes*) take off any of their heads without the Imperial signature or immediate hand-writing of the Grand Signior, nor can he punish a *Spahie* or *Janizary*, or any other Souldier but by means of their Commanders: the Militia having reserved themselves that privilege, which secures them from several oppressions: in other matters he is wholly absolute, and hath so great a power with the Grand Signior, that whomsoever he shall think fit of all the Officers in the Empire to proscribe, he can speedily obtain the Imperial hand to put it in execution.

Whatsoever petitions and addressees are made, in what business soever, ought first to pass through the hands of the *Visier*: but yet when a party hath suffered some notorious injury, in which the *Visier* is combated, or hath refused him justice, he hath liberty then to appeal to the Grand Signior himself, which is permitted by an ancient custom; the aggrieved person putting fire on his head enters the *Seraglio*, runs in haste, and can be stopt by no body until he comes to the presence of the Grand Signior, to whom he hath license to declare his wrong. The like was done by Sir *Thomas Bendysb* when Embassadour at *Constantinople*, putting pots of fire at the Yard Arms of some English Ships then in Port, and came to Anchor near the *Seraglio*. The reason thereof was, the violent seizure of the Merchants goods, as soon as arrived in Port, for the service of the Grand Signior, without bargain or account of them, which being taken up by those Officers and great Persons who were out of the reach of Law, forced the worthy Embassadour at that time Resident to represent his grievances with much resolution, signifying them to the Grand Signior by fire on the Yards of eleven English Ships then in Port, which were drawn off from the scale, where they usually lay, to the side of the *Seraglio*; which coming to be discovered first to the *Visier*, before the grand Signior had notice thereof, he immediately extinguished those fires by a fair accommodation, before they burst into a more dangerous flame, by the knowledge of the Grand Signior, who might justly destroy him for suffering such notorious injustice to run to that publick and known extremity.

The *Persians* in like cases put on a Vest of White Paper, signifying the aggravation of their injury is not to be described in as much Paper as can cover their bodies.

This great Office of Charge and Trust, as it is the highest, so it is the nearest to *Joves Thunderbolt*, and most exposed to envy and emulation; strange stories are read and confirmed by eye-witnesses in our dayes, concerning the unexpected rise and ascent of unworthy men on a sudden without degrees, steps or approaches to this mighty power and glory, and as soon have been thrown down and been the subject of the peoples cruelty and revenge; some have been the Sons but of a few dayes growth, and the Sun hath scarce set, before their greatness and glory hath declined; others have continued but a month, some a year, others two or three, and withal, even in those who have lived longest

longest and happiest, fortune sports with that wantonness and inconstancy, that it may serve to be the Mirrour and Emblem of the Worlds vanity, and uncertain riches; It is the fate of great Favourites with barbarous Princes to be but short-lived. For either the Prince delights to exercise his power in debasing some, and advancing others, or hath bestowed so largely, that his bounty is at a stop, and begins to be wearied with heaping of favours, as the other is glutted and satiated with receiving them; *Fato potentia raro sempiterna, an satias capit aut illos cum omnia tribuerunt, aut hos quod nihil reliquum est quod capiant.* Tac. Lib. 3. Emulation and flattery are likewise great, and the factions are commonly many in the Ottoman Court, whereby the state of the first Minister is endangered. *Insita mortalibus natura recentem aliorum felicitatem agris oculis introspicere, modumq; fortunæ à nullis magis exigere, quam quos in equo vident.* Tac. Lib. 3. Sometimes the Queen Mother rules, sometimes the *Kusir* Aga commands, perhaps a beautiful Woman is Mistress of the power, as well as of the affections of the *Sultan*; every one of these have some Favourites, some or other who watch Preferments, and are intent to observe all miscarriages of State, which may reflect on, or question the judgment or honesty of the first Authour, by which means the unhappy Visier, either by the *Sultans* immediate command, or tumults of the Souldiery raised by the powerful factions aforementioned, yields up his Life and Government together; whose power and greatness being only borrowed from his Master, and depending on anothers pleasure, by its short continuance and mutability, verifies that true saying of *Tacitus*, Lib. 12. *Nihil rerum mortalium tam instabile & fluxum est, quam fama potentia non sua vi nixa.*

But it doth not always happen that the Prime Visier because he is deprived of his Office, should therefore lose his life; for many times, especially if he be a man whose disposition is not greatly suspected of Malice or Revenge to the contrivers of his fall, or be not of a generous spirit, and great abilities and popularity, whereby he may be venterous and capable of raising Rebellion or Mutiny, he is permitted calmly to retire, and quietly to descend from his high Throne of honour, to enter into the lower Region and air of a small and petty Government of a *Pascha*; as not many years past the Predecessours of *Kiuperli* Father of this present Visier being degraded, had the *Paschalick* of *Kanisa* (which is accounted one of the meanest of all the Governments which are subject to a *Pascha*) conferred on him, and here I cannot tell whether such a Visier hath not more reason to bless and congratulate his fortune then accuse it; for in this condition he is more free from cares and dangers, and much more happy if his ambition and greatness of spirit render not his repose and ease less pleasing, because it is not in the highest Lodgings of Honour and Command. But it is seldom so among the *Turks*; for with them it is esteemed no disgrace to be transplanted from the Mountains to the Vallies; they know their original, and composition partakes not much of Heavenly fire, and that the Clay they are framed of, is but of common Earth, which is in the hand of the Grand Signior as the Pot, to frame and mould, as is most agreeable to his pleasure and will. And as it is no disparagement to decline and go backward in Honour amongst the *Turks*, so it is no new thing, or absurdity in their Politicks, to see men rise like Mushromes in a night, and from the meanest

meanest and most abject Offices, without degrees or convenient approaches, at once leap into the Seat and Quality of the Prime Visier; I shall instance in one example worthy of Record, which was of late days, and as yet that I know of, hath had no place in History. It happened that in *Constantinople*, there was either great scarcity of flesh, or the negligence of the Butchers had made it so; so that they who were not so early abroad as to watch their usual time of making their days provision, or came any thing late, were necessitated to pass that day with a Lenten diet; among those who had missed one morning their common proportion of flesh, was one *Dervise* a Cook of a Chamber of *Janizaries*; this man knew the blows and punishment he was to suffer from the chief of the Chamber; that through his sloth and want of care, the whole Company should that day pass without their Dinner, which caused him in great passion with loud exclamations as he passed the streets to accuse the ill Government, and little care was had to rectifie these common abuses: it fortuned that at that time that *Dervise* was lamenting his case to all the world, and cursing the principal Officers, that the Grand Signior in disguise passed by, and seeing a man in such a disorder of mind, came in a courteous manner to demand the reason of his passion; to whom the *Dervise* replied, *It was in vain for him to be inquisitive; or for me, said he, to inform of what you are able to afford no remedy unto; for none but the Grand Signior himself is of sufficient power to redress that for which I have so much cause to be troubled.* At last with much importunity he told what great abuse there was in the Butchery, that the *Shambles* were ill served, that he had missed the usual proportion of flesh that morning, for his *Janizaries* Chamber, and what punishment he was likely to suffer, for having come short only one moment of his due time; he added farther that the *Visier* and other Officers were negligent in rectifying these mean and low disorders, being wholly taken up in enriching themselves, and intent to their own interest; but if I were first *Visier*, I would not only cause great plenty of flesh in this City, but at all times of the day it should be found by those who wanted it; and now what benefit have either you, said he, by hearing this story, or what release am I likely to have of punishment by repeating it to you? The Grand Signior afterwards returning home, and considering of the discourse the *Janizaries* Cook had made him, whether to prove the abilities of the man, or because he conceived Providence had offered this encounter, or that Princes delight to exercise their power in creating great men from nothing; he sent immediately for the *Dervise*, who being come into his presence, and sensible of the familiar discourse he had made him, trembling cast himself down at his feet, supposing that the free language he used of the *Visier* and the Government, was the cause he was now to lose his life. But it happened quite contrary, for the Grand Signior encouraging him to lay aside his fear, told him he was resolved to make him first *Visier*, to try an Experiment whether he was able to amend those abuses he complained of; and that herein he might not transgress the degrees whereby he was gradually to pass, he first made him chief of his Chamber, the next day Captain, the day following *Aga* or General of the *Janizaries*, and thence with one step to be Great *Visier*, who not only remedied the abuse in the *shambles* according to his promise, but proved a famous and excellent Minister of State; and though examples of

of the like nature are frequent among the *Turks*, yet this may serve at present to shew in part the fortune and fate by which men are raised, and the unconstancy of greatness and glory amongst the *Turks* above any other part of the world besides.

It was a hard Problem in the *Turkish Policy*, which as a wise Prime Visier proposed to certain *Paschaes* amongst other questions, What courses were possible to be found out for a first Visier to maintain and continue his office, and acquit this so dangerous charge from the hazard and uncertainty to which it is liable; for you see Brothers, said he, how few enjoy or grow old herein; their virtue, their care, and their innocence are no protection; some remain a day, a week, a month, others protract the thread to a year or two, but at length they are (to use our own Proverb) like the *Ant* to whom God gives wings for their speedier destruction. The *Paschaes* were for a while all silent, not knowing what reply to make, or how to resolve so difficult and knotty a point, until *Kuperli* (who was then the most ancient and perhaps the wisest *Pascha*, as the actions of his following life have sufficiently testified) first replied that in his opinion, the only and most probable means for a tottering Visier to secure himself, is to divert the minds of the Grand Signior and other working brains, upon some foreign War; for Peace is that which corrupts the dispositions of men, and sets them on work to raise themselves with intestine and civil evils; when War busies their Spirits, and employs them to gain renown and glory by Martial actions, by which means Plots and Treachery are driven from our own homes; *Consiliis & astu res externas moliri, arma procul habere*, Tac. lib. 6. And it is possible that *Achmet* the Son of *Kuperli*, who began the last War with *Germany*, might go upon this Maxim of his Fathers; for in all matters of his Government, he is observed to walk by the same rules and directions, which were bequeathed to him as well as his inheritance.

And yet for all this doubtful estate of the Prime Visiers, some have been known to manage this office 18 or 19 years, and afterwards wearied with care and pains, to acquit it by a natural death; from whence this question may arise, whether the favour or displeasure of the Prince depends on the destiny or fortune we are born to, or whether humane Counsel can assign a way between contumaciousness and flattery, wherein to steer free from danger and ambition? *Unde dubitare cogor, fato & sorte nascendi, ut cetera, ita Principum inclinatio in hos, offensio in illos, an sit aliquid in nostris consiliis, liceatq; inter abruptam contumaciam, & deforme obsequium pergere iter, ambitione & periculis vacuum*. Tacit. lib. 4. But we find but few examples of this kind. For if Visiers have been evil, their own cruelty and covetousness have hastened their fate; if good, their merits have been their ruine; lest the great benefits their merits have procured to their Prince should seem to want reward, or be dangerous or difficult to requite, *Beneficia consq; leta, dum videntur exsolvi posse; ubi multum anteverere, pro gratia odium redditur*, Tac. lib. 4.

The Revenues of the first Visier which issue immediately from the Crown, and are certain appendages to the office, are not great, being not above 20000 Dollars yearly, which arise from certain Villages in *Romelia*; the rest of the immense riches which accrues to this charge so

full of cares and danger, flows from all the quarters of the Empire. For no *Bassaw* or Minister of trust enters his place without his Present and offering to the first Visier, to obtain his consent, and purchase a continuance of his favour. Those that have Governments abroad, have always their Agents at Court, who with gifts continually mollifie the Visiers mind, entreating him to represent their service to the Grand Signior in an acceptable and grateful manner. And though at the Equinoctial in the Spring, all *Paschaes* and any that have Governments of note, are obliged to make their Presents to the Grand Signior of considerable value, at which time the first Visier neither will not want his own acknowledgments, he is yet farther treated by all Persons with sums of money, as the nature of their business is, which is not secretly, but boldly and confidently demanded, and the bargain beaten as in matters of Merchandize, and Trade; and Justice and Favours made as vendible and set as publick to sale, as Wares and Commodities are in the Shops and places of common Mart; so that if the first Visier proves covetous (as commonly they do who are raised from nothing, and used always to thrift) and resolves to lose nothing of what he may get, his income is incredible, and may equal that which is the Rent of the Grand Signior, and in a few years amasse an immense riches and wealth. But of this the Prince and the *Turkish* Policy is not ignorant, and accordingly provides remedies to drain the inundations of the Visiers Coffers; at first by extorting great sums of money from him at his entrance to the charge; then under colour of Friendship and Favour the Grand Signior makes him Visits, in requital whereof rich Presents are made him, as Gratitude for so much Honour; next he many times sends to him for a gift of 100000 Dollars, for Jewels, Hories and other things of a great value; and in this manner several contrivances are used to turn these Rivulets to pay their Tribute to the great Ocean; amongst which this present Grand Signior *Mahomet* the fourth hath found out one way amongst the rest, putting the Visier often to the charges of his Dinner, sending to his Kitchen for 20 dishes of Meat, which is the usual proportion of the Grand Signiors ordinary Table, and by inviting himself to a Banquet many times at the Visiers expences; and this being done so frequently, gives the world occasion to believe that he demands it out of no other design then narrowness of soul to save the charges of his own Dinner; and the rather it is so believed because this Emperour is reputed of a covetous disposition, and of no affinity with *Solyman* the Magnificent. But the ways and means by which the Grand Signior comes in the end to be possessed of the gains and profits collected by his Visier, and other officers, requires a particular discourse apart, which shall in its due time and place be treated of; and this shall for the present suffice to have spoken concerning the Prime Visier and his office.

CHAP. XII.

The Offices, Dignities, and several Governments of the Empire.

HE that will describe the Politie of a Country, must endeavour especially in the most exact and punctual manner possible to declare the several Offices, Dignities and Riches of it, that so a more easie computation may be calculated of its strength, numbers of Men, Fortifications, Forces by Sea, where best defended, and where most easily vulnerable and exposed.

The next to the Visier *Azem* or the first Visier, are the several *Beglerbegs* (which may not unaptly be compared to Arch-Dukes in some parts of Christendom) having under their jurisdiction many *Sangiacks* or Provinces, *Beyes*, *Agas* and others; To every one of these the Grand Signior in honour bestows three Ensigns (called in Turkish *Tugh*) which are staves trimmed with the tail of a Horse with a golden Ball upon the top; and this is to distinguish them from *Bashaws* who have two Ensigns; and the *Sangiack-beg*, who hath also the name of *Pascha*, and hath but one. When a *Pascha* is made, the Solemnity used at the conferring his office, is a Flag or Banner carryed before him, and accompanied with Musick and Songs by the *Mirialem*, who is an Officer for this purpose only, for investiture of *Paschas* in their office.

The Government of *Beglerbegs*, who have several Provinces called *Sangiacks* under their command are of two sorts; the first is called *Hassile Beglerbeglik*, which hath a certain Rent assigned out of the Cities, Countries and Signories allotted to the Principality; the second is called *Saliane Beglerbeglik*, for maintenance of which is annexed a certain Salary or Rent, collected by the Grand Signiors Officers with the Treasure of the whole Government, out of which are paid also the *Sangiack Beglers*, that is, the Lords of the several Counties, Towns or Cities, and the Militia of the Country.

It is impossible exactly to describe the Wealth and ways of Gains exercised by these Potent Governours to enrich themselves; for a *Turk* is ingenious to get Wealth, and hasty to grow rich; howsoever we will succinctly set down the certain sums of Revenue which are granted them by Commission from the Grand Signior, assigned them out of every particular place of their Government; besides which they have the Profits of all Wefts and Strays, Goods of Felons, sale of Vacant Church-Offices, Slaves, Horses and Cattel, which by Mortality or other accidents have no certain Master; to which may be added the benefit of their *Avanias* or false Accusations, whereby they invade the Right and Estates of their Subjects; as also of the Robberies of their people and strangers, by their own Slaves and Servants, whom they send abroad with that design; and having committed the Robberies themselves, under pretence of discovery of the Crime and doing Justice, they seize the innocent people, torture and imprison them, and perhaps put some to death for expiation of their own offences. To come nearer then to this purpose. The *Beglerbegs* of the first sort are in number 22, who have their Revenue allotted them in the places that they govern, collected by their own Officers according to Commission,

An Asper is about the value of a half-penny.

of which the first is of *Anatolia*, anciently called *Asia minor*, afterwards *Anatolia*, *ἡ τῆς ἀνατολῆς*, from its more Eastern situation in respect of *Greece*; the yearly Revenue of which in the Grand Signiors books called the old Canon is a Million of Aspers, and hath under its jurisdiction 14 *Sangiacks* *Kiotahi* where the *Beglerbeg* resides in *Phrygia Magior*, *Sarabam*, *Aidin*, *Kastamoni*, *Hudanendighiar*, *Boli*, *Mentesche*, *Angora* otherwise *Ancyra*, *Karahysar*, *Tekeili*, *Kiangri*, *Hamid*, *Sultan Ugbi*, *Karefi*, with the command of 22 Castles.

2. *Caramania*, anciently called *Cilicia*, and was the last Province which held out belonging to the *Caramanian* Princes, when all places gave way to the flourishing Progress of the *Ottoman* Arms; the Revenue hereof is 660074 Aspers, and hath under its jurisdiction 7 *Sangiacks*, viz. *Iconium*, which is the Court of the *Beglerbeg* in *Cappadocia*, *Nigde*, *Kaisani*, otherwise *Cesanca*, *Jenischebri*, *Kyrschebri*, *Akschebri*, *Akserai*: And in this Principality are three Castles, at *Iconium* one, at *Larende* and *Mendui*, under the *Pasba's* immediate command, and seventeen others in several *Sangiacks*.

which signifies a free command.

3. *Diarbekir*, otherwise *Mesopotamia*, hath a Revenue of a Million two hundred thousand and 660 Aspers, and hath under its jurisdiction 19 *Sangiacks*, with five other Governments called *Hukimmet* in *Turkish*, eleven of which *Sangiacks* are properly belonging to the *Ottoman* Royalities, and eight are *Curdian* Counties, or of the people called *Kurds*; for when *Curdia* was conquered, the Country was divided, and distinguished into the nature of *Sangiacks*, but with this difference of right inheritance and succession to the Goods and Possessions of their Parents, and succeed as Lords of Mannors, or to other petty Governments by Blood and Kindred. And as other Lords of *Sangiacks*, *Timariots*, or Barons pay the Grand Signiors duties, and hold their Land in Knights service, or other tenure whereby they are obliged to attend and follow their Commanders to the Wars, whensoever they are called thereunto by the Grand Signiors summons: these that are registred for *Hukimmet* have no *Timariots* or Lords to command them, but are free from all Duties and Impositions, and are absolute Masters of their own Lands and Estates. Those *Sangiacks* which are properly belonging to the *Ottoman* Royalities are *C Harpu*, *Ezani*, *Synreck*, *Nesbin*, *Chatenghis*, *Tchemischekreke*, *Seared*, *Mufarkin*, *Aktchié*, *Kala*, *Habur*, *Sangiar* otherwise *Diarbekir*, which is the place of residence of the *Beglerbeg*. Those *Sangiacks* which are entailed upon Families are *Sagman*, *Kulab*, *Mechrani*, *Tergil*, *Atak*, *Pertek*, *Tchifakichur*, *Tchirmek*.

4. Of *Scham* otherwise *Damascus*, the certain Revenue of which is a Million of Aspers, and hath under it *Sangiacks* 7 with *Hos*, where the Contributions by the *Beglerbegs* Officers are collected upon the Country, and are *Kadescheris* alias *Jernsalem*, *Gaza*, *Sifad*, *Nabolas* alias *Naples* in *Syria*, *Aglun*, *Babura*, and *Damascus*, the City where the *Beglerbeg* resides. He hath farther three with *Saliane*, for account of which he is paid by the Kings Officers; and those are *Kadmar*, *Saida*, *Beru*, *Kiurk*, *Schubek*, where are no *Timariots*, but the Inhabitants are true, and absolute Masters of their own Estates in the same manner as the *Curds* are, which we have beforementioned; the Castles here are for the most part demolished, and scarce worthy our notices.

5. Is of *Sivas* a City in *Armenia major*, hath a Revenue of 900 thou-

thousand Aspers, and hath under his Dominions six *Sangiacks*, viz. *Amasia*, *Tchurum*, *Buradick*, *Demurki*, *Gianick*, *Archkir*, the Castles of which are 19.

6. Is the Government of the *Pascha* of *Erzrum* on the confines of *Georgia*, hath a Revenue of a Million two hundred thousand and 660 Aspers, and hath under his Government eleven *Sangiacks*, viz. *Karabizar*, *Scharki*, *Kieisi*, *Pasin*, *Esber*, *Hanes*, *Tekman*, *Turtum*, *Meyenherd*, *Mamervan*, *Kyzutchan*, *Melazherd*; and hath thirteen Castles.

7. Is the Government of the *Pascha* of *Wan* or *Van* a City in *Media*, hath a Revenue of a Million a hundred and thirty two thousand 209 Aspers, and commands 14 *Sangiacks*, viz. *Adilgiwar*, *Ergiseb*, *Musch*, *Barkiri*, *Kiarkian*, *Kisani*, *Espaired*, *Agakis*, *Ekrad*, *Benikutur*, *Kalaibaierid*, *Berdea* and *Edegick*.

8. Is the Government of the *Pascha* of *Tchildir* on the confines of *Georgia*, hath a Revenue of nine hundred twenty five thousand Aspers, and commands nine *Sangiacks*, viz. *Olti*, *Hartus*, *Ardnug*, *Erdehamburek*, *Hagrek*, *Pusenbaf* alias *Pusenbal*, *Machgil*, *Igiare*, *Penbeck*, *Peretekrek*.

9. Is the Government of *Scheberezulin Assyria*, the *Pascha* of which hath a Revenue of a Million of Aspers, and commands 20 *Sangiacks*, viz. *Surutchuk*, *Erbil*, *Kinschaf*, *Sebezbazar*, *Chabkinle*, *Gebthawrin*, *Hezurd Merd*, *Dulchuran*, *Mergbiana*, *Haninudevin*, *Agiur*, *Neitutari*, *Sepenzengire*, *Ebruan*, *Tanudan*, *Badeberend*, *Belkas*, *Vicheni*, *Garikalo*, *Renghene*.

10. Is the Government of *Halep* or *Aleppo*, hath eight hundred and seventeen thousand 772 Aspers Revenue, and commands 7 *Sangiacks* with *Has* and 2 with *Saliane*: Of the first sort are *Adana*, *Ekrad*, *Kelis*, *Beregek*, *Mearre*, *Gazir*, *Balis*: Of the other are *Matik* and *Turkman* which is *Turcomania*, of these at this day the Revenue is farmed, and are not called *Sangiacks* but *Agalik*, for in them are no *Timariots*, but every man is Lord and Master of his own Lands: This Government hath five Castles.

11. Is the Government of *Marasch* near the River *Euphrates*, situated between *Mesopotamia* and *Aleppo*, otherwise called by the *Turks* *Zulkadrie*, hath a Revenue of 628 thousand 450 Aspers, and commands four *Sangiacks* only, viz. *Malatia*, *Asab*, *Kars*, and *Samsad*, and hath four Castles.

12. Is the Government of *Kibros* otherwise called *Cyprus*, hath a Revenue five hundred thousand 650 Aspers, and commands 7 *Sangiacks*, viz. 4 with *Has*, and are *Itchili*, *Tarsus*, *Alanie*, *Schis*; the other 3 with *Saliane*, are *Kewine Baf Mausfa*, *Lefkuschba* or *Larnica*, which is the place of the *Pascha's* residence, and hath 14 Castles.

13. Is the Government of *Tarabolos Sebam*, otherwise *Tripoly* of *Syria*, hath a Revenue eight hundred thousand Aspers, at this place the *Pascha* resides, and hath under him 4 *Sangiacks*, viz. *Hams*, *Hama*, *Gemole* and *Selemie*, and hath only one Castle in the *Sangiack* of *Hams* called *Fashulekrad*.

14. Is the Government of *Terbozan*, otherwise *Trabexond*, encompassed with a ridge of Mountains, according to a Poet born in that place,

Vertice Montano Trapezus inclusa recessit.

Formerly the Imperial Seat of the *Comneni* reigning over *Cappadocia*, *Galatia*, and the parts of *Pontus*, founded by *Alexius Comnenus*, who upon the taking of *Constantinople* by the Western Christians fled to this place, which flourished until taken by *Mahomet the Great*; it is situate on the *Euxine* or black Sea, and still a place of considerable Traffick, especially made rich for the fishing, out of which and the customs the *Pascha*, though he hath no *Sangiacks* under his Government, hath yet a Revenue allotted of 734 thousand 850 Aspers, with 14 Castles to defend the City, and the Dominions belonging thereunto.

15. The Government of the *Pascha* of *Kars* a City near *Erzurum*, hath a Revenue of 820 thousand 650 Aspers, and commands six *Sangiacks*, viz. *Erdehankutchuk*, *Gingewan*, *Zarufchan*, *Ghegran*, *Kughizman*, *Pasin*.

16. The Government of the *Pascha* of *Musul*, otherwise called *Nineve* in *Affyria*, hath a Revenue of 681 thousand and 56 Aspers, and commands five *Sangiacks*, viz. *Bagiwanlu*, *Tekrit*, *Zerbit*, *Eski Musul* or old *Ninive*, and *Hurnu*.

17. The Government of the *Pascha* of *Rika* hath a Revenue of 680 thousand Aspers, and commands seven *Sangiacks*, viz. *Ghemascho*, *Chabur*, *Dizirhebe*, *Benirabue*, *Serug*, *Biregek Ane*.

These are all the Governments which are in *Asia* with *Has*, let us now pass into *Europe*.

18. Is the Government of the *Pascha* of *Rumuli* otherwise *Romania*, which is the most honourable *Turkish* charge in *Europe*, hath a Revenue of a Million and a hundred thousand Aspers, the seat of the *Pascha* is *Sofia*, and commands 24 *Sangiacks*, viz. *Kioftendit* otherwise *Justiniana*, *Mora* otherwise *Morea*, *Skenderi Tirhala*, *Siliftra*, *Nigheboli*, *Uchri*, *Am-lona*, *Jania*, *Ilbrazan*, *Tchirmen*, *Selanik* otherwise *Salonica*, *Wize*, *Delunija*, *Utkin*, *Kirkkelisa*, *Dukakin*, *Wedin*, *Alagebizar*, *Serzerin*, *Waltcharin*, *Bender*, *Akkerman*, *Ozi*, *Azak*; But it is to be observed that though *Morea*, according to the ancient Canon, was under the jurisdiction of the *Pascha* of *Romania*, yet now it is divided and made part of the Revenue of the *Valede* or Queen Mother, where a Farmer of her Rents and Incomes now resides.

19. Is the charge of the *Kupudan* otherwise Captain *Pascha*, or as the *Turks* call him, General of the White Seas, hath a Revenue of 885 thousand Aspers; he is Admiral of the Grand Signiors Fleet, and Commands as far as the *Turkish* Power by Sea extends; and commands 13 *Sangiacks*; viz. *Galipoli*, which is the proper place of the *Pascha's* residence, *Egribuz* otherwise *Negropont*, *Karlieli*, *Ainebatti*, *Rhades*, *Midillu* or *Metilene*, *Kogia Eli*, *Betga*, *Sifla*, *Mezefta*, *Sakis* or the Island of *Scio*, *Benekische* or *Malvatia*; some others adde *Nicomedia*, *Limnos* and *Nixia*.

20. Is the Government of the *Pascha* of *Budun* otherwise *Buda* in *Hungary*, hath a Revenue and commands twenty *Sangiacks*; viz. *Agri*, *Kanyfsa*, *Samandra*, *Petchui*, *Ustunubilgrad* or *Stultwiffenberg*, *Ostrogou* or *Strigoinum*, *sekidin*, *Chatwan*, *Semutum*, *Sirem*, *Kupan*, *Filek*, *sekitwar*, *sektches*, *setchre*, *Novigrad*, *seksard*, *Belgrade* or *Alba Regalis*.

And

And now lately in the year 1663. that *Wiwar* or *Newhausel* was taken, a new *Sangiack* is since added.

21. The *Pascha* of *Temeswar* in *Hungary*, hath a Revenue and hath under his command 6 *Sangiacks*, viz. *Lipowa*, *Tchanad*, *Ghiola*, *Mudava*, *Waradin*, to which also *Janova* is added, conquered in the year 1663.

22. Is the Government of the *Pascha* of *Bosna* in *Myria*, divided formerly into *Liburnia* and *Dalmatia*, now called *Sclavonia*; his Revenue is a and commands 8 *Sangiacks*, viz. *Hersek*, *Kelis*, *Ezdernik*, *Puzga*, *Feragine*, *Zagine*, *Kirka*, *Rahvige*.

There are other *Paschas* of *Coffa*, *Theodosia* in *Taurica* in *Chersonesus*, which having no *Sangiacks*, no *Timariots* nor *Ziamets* under them, but only a few beggerly Villages which we shall purposely omit, as not worthy the notice. And so much shall be said for the *Paschas* or *Beglerbegs* with *Han*, or with the Revenue imposed upon Countries under their command, collected by their own Officers.

Those that ate with *Saliane*, or paid out of the Grand Signiors Treasury, are :

1. The *Pascha* of *Gran Cair*, called by the *Turks* *Misir*, hath a Revenue of 600 thousand *Scheriffs* or *Zechins* a year, which he may justly and honestly pretend to; as much is the Tribute yearly paid the Grand Signior from that place; which is most commonly brought since the War with *Venice* upon Camels backs by land, with a guard of 500 men, not to expose it to the danger of being intercepted at Sea; another sum of 600 thousand *Zechins* yearly goes to the payment of the *Turks* Forces in *Egypt*; besides the vast sums of money this *Pascha* extorts with insupportable Avarice and Tyranny from the Natives of the Country, during the space of his 3 years Government; by which means he grows excessive rich, and able to refund a good stream into the Grand Signiors Coffers at his return, as hereafter shall be the subject of our more large discourse; he commands 16 *Sangiacks* as is reported, but not being registred in the Kings Book, I let them pass without naming them.

2. Is the Government of *Bagdat*, otherwise *Babylon*, hath a Revenue of a Million and 700 thousand *Aspers*, and commands 22 *Sangiacks*, viz. *Beritenk*, *Gexan*, *Gewaxir*, *Renk Aiadiie*, *Gelle*, *Semwat*, *Remaliie*, *Beiare*, *Derne*, *Debare*, *Wafit*, *Gebkinle*, *Gedide*, *Kesend*, *Kasrschirin*, *Ghiilan*, *Karag*, *Anne*, *Alsebab*, *Demurkapn*, *Deitberhite*, *Karaniie*.

3. Is the Government of the *Pascha* of *Temen*, which is in *Arabia Felix*, whose place of residence is at *Adem* upon the Red Sea; which place and Country being recovered for the most part again from the *Turk* by the *Arabians*, it is neither needful to mention the Revenue, nor the *Sangiacks* it formerly commanded.

4. Is the Government of *Habelob* upon the confines of the *Abissines* in *Ethiopia*, called also by the *Turks* *Hustzobit*, which extending it self to the Dominions of *Prester John*, being far distant from the succours of the *Ottoman* force, is now wholly lost to the *Turk*; so that we can neither assign the Revenue, nor the *Sangiacks*.

5. In the Government also of *Bosra* on the confines of *Persia*, a Maritime City in the *Sinus Persicus* near *Byblis* in *Phanicia*, were reckoned 26 *Sangiacks*, but now not held by the *Turk*, who hath no other power there,

there, nor benefit thence, excepting only that prayers are made constantly for the *Sultan*.

6. In the Government of *Lahsa* on the confines of *Ormuz* in *Persia*, are counted 6 *Sangiacks*, viz. *Aiwen*, *Sakul*, *Negnie*, *Netif*, *Benderazir*, *Giriz*, but these Countries are poor, and have scarce any place in the Grand Signiors Registers.

To these we should adde the Governments of *Algiers*, *Tunis*, and *Tripoli* in *Barbary*; but that being much fallen off from the *Turks* obedience and become almost independent of themselves; we shall pass by the discourse of them, especially because of late years the mutual Treaties with *Barbary*, and interchanges of War and Peace with those Countries, hath made the state and condition of that people well known and familiar in *England*.

The use of the particular Catalogue fore-going, is to demonstrate the greatness and power of the *Ottoman* Empire, which hath so many considerable Governments and Principalities in its possession, wherewith to encourage and excite the endeavours of Heroick spirits to an ambition of great and noble Enterprizes, whereby to merit the Rewards which remain in the power of the *Sultan* to gratifie them with. And also to help in the just computation of the number of men the *Turk* can bring into the Field, every *Pascha* being obliged for every 5000 *Aspers* Rent to bring a Souldier to the War: though notwithstanding, they often appear for ostentation and gain of the Grand Signiors favour with more men then their due complement; as in the last War with *Germany*, the *Beglerbeg* of *Romania* brought 10000 effective men into the Field.

Of these *Beglerbegs* five have the Title of *Visiers*, which signifies as much as Councillor, viz. the *Paschas* of *Anatolia*, *Babylon*, *Cairo*, *Romania*, and *Buda*; which are charges of the greatest riches, power, and fame; the others have their pre-eminence, rank, or order according to the Priority of Conquest, and Antiquity in the possession of the *Turks*.

These are all the great Governments of the Empire, in whose respective jurisdictions are always three principal Officers, viz. the *Mufti*, the *Reis Efendi*, otherwise called *Reis Kitab*, which is Lord Chancellor or Secretary of State, or rather those two offices united into one; and the third is *Tefterdar Pashaw*, or Lord Treasurer. These three officers are near Councillors and attendants on their *Pashaws*, and so also they are on the Prime Visier, whose *Mufti*, *Reis Efendi*, and *Tefterdar* have a superiority and dignity above the others, and are to them, as the original to the Copy.

Of the *Mufti* we shall speak in due place. The *Reis Efendi*, which signifies chief of the Writers or Book-men; (for the *Turks* call always men of the Law, and Professors of the Pen, and Parochial Priests by the Title of *Efendi*) is always present and attending on the Visier, for passing Orders, Decrees, Patents and Commissions into all parts of the Empire; which are daily dispatched in those numbers into all places, as is incredible; for the *Turks* governing more by their Arbitrary power, and according to the exigences of affairs, then by a set rule, or form, every business requires its distinct order; and the very Courts of Justice are moderated according to the commands and directions they

they receive from above; by which means the *Reis Efendi's* hands are filled with such a multitude of business, as employs great numbers of Writers; and consequently brings in riches flowing to his Coffers; some in which Office, who by their parts, industry, and courage have gained authority and respect, have amassed wealth, which might compare with the riches and treasure of Princes: We shall here instance in one of late years, famous in *Turky*, for his knowledge and riches, called *Samozade*; one who had piled those heaps of all things that were rich and curious, as were too tedious and long to insert in a Catalogue in this place. It may suffice, that being executed in the time of the last Wars against the Emperour of *Germany* for some conspiracy against the Great Visier, such a Treasure was found appertaining to him (all which was confiscated to the Grand Signior) as was sufficient to have enriched and raised his Prince, had he been impoverished, and in a declining condition.

The other Great Officer, is the *Tesferdar* or Lord Treasurer, who receives the Revenue of the Grand Signior, and pays the Souldiery, and makes other publick disbursements; this Office is different from the Treasurer of the *Seraglio* (of whom we have already spoken) who attends to nothing else but the expences of the Court, and to gather in the accidental profits and presents paid to the Grand Signior; which is so considerable, that every *Sultan* (for the most part) amasses a particular treasure of his own, which after his death is inclosed in a certain Chamber, and shut with an Iron gate, and the Key-hole stopped with Lead, and over the Port is writ in Golden Letters, The Treasure of such a *Sultan*. And this shall suffice to have spoken of the Offices and Dignities of the Empire.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Tartars and Tartar Han, and in what manner they depend upon the Turks.

THE *Tartars* may very well be accounted amongst the other Princes subject to the *Ottoman* power; I mean not the *Asiatick Tartars* or the *Tartar* of *Eusbeck* (though so much *Mahometan*, as to wear green Turbants, and to deduce their Race from the Line of *Mahomet* himself) for having conquered *China*, and possessing a greater Empire then the *Ottoman*, they are far from acknowledging any subjection or degree of inferiority to the *Turk*; nor are all the *European Tartars* Subjects to the *Sultan*; for the *Kalmuk* and *Citrahian Tartars* (men of strange barbarity, and countenance different from all the other race of mankind) though Professors of the *Mahometan* Religion, are yet faithfully and piously obedient to the Duke of *Moscovie* their lawful Prince.

But the *Precopentian Tartar*, which inhabits *Taurica Chersonesus*, now called *Crim*, the principal City of which is *Theodosia*, now *Cafa*, and the *Nagaentian Tartar*, which inhabits by the *Palus Meotis* between the Rivers of *Volga* and *Tanaïs*, are the people which may be accounted amongst the Subjects, or at least Confederates of this Empire: though only the City of *Cafa* of all those Dominions, is immediately in Posses-

sion and Government of the *Turk*, which in my opinion appears to be a cautionary Town and Pledge for their obedience; and though the *Han* or Prince of that Country is elective, yet he is chosen out of the true Line, and confirmed by the Grand Signiors, who have always taken upon them a power to depose the Father, and in his place constitute the Son or next of that Linage when found remiss in affording their Auxiliary helps to the War, or guilty of any disrespect or want of duty to the *Ottoman* Port.

This present *Han* which now governs, called *Mahomet Ghirei* (for that is the Sirname of his Family) remained during the life of his Father (according to the custom of the Eldest Son of this Prince) a hostage to the *Turk* in *Janboli* a Town in *Thrace*, four days journey distant from *Adrianople*, situated on the *Euxine* or black Sea; but from thence upon jealousy of too near a vicinity to his own Country, was removed to *Rhodes*, where he passed an obscure and melancholy life until the death of his Father, and then being recalled to *Constantinople*, had there his Sword girt on, swore fealty to the Grand Signior, with all other formalities performed according to their custom of Regal Inauguration: But being settled in his Kingdom and mindful of his sufferings at *Rhodes*, he had ever stomached the Pride of the *Ottoman* Emperour, by which, and the dissuasion of the *Polonians*, and the other neighbouring *Tartars*, as a thing dishonourable to so ancient and powerful a people, to resign the heir of their Kingdom a hostage to their neighbours; this present Prince hath refused this part of subjection which the Visier *Kuprinli* often complained of; but not being in a condition to afford a remedy unto, thought it prudence to dissemble.

But yet these people are esteemed as Brothers, or near Allies with the *Turk*, to whom for want of heirs-male in the *Ottoman* Line, the Empire is by ancient compact to descend; the expectation of which though afar off, and but almost imaginary, doth yet conserve the *Tartar* in as much observance to the *Turk*, as the hopes of an Estate doth a young Gallant, who is allured to a complacency and obsequiousness with the petulant humor of a Father that adopts him, who is resolved never to want heirs of his own Family. And thus the *Tartar* is as obedient as other subjects; and though the *Turk* exercises not his power there by commands, as in other places of his Dominions, but treats all his business by way of Letters; yet these Letters serve in the place of Warrants, for the signification of the Grand Signiors pleasure, and are as available as the * Autogra, and other formalities of the Imperial Edict, are in other places (in subjection to the *Turk*.)

* The great Character of the Emperors name affixed at the top of every Command.

By ancient compact between this Empire and the Kingdom of *Tartary*, it is agreed, that whensoever the Grand Signior goes in person to the Wars; the *Tartar* *Han* is to accompany him in person with an Army of a hundred thousand men, but if the Visier or some other General be in the Field, then is he only obliged to send forty or fifty thousand under the command of his Son, or some principal Officer of his Kingdom, who are paid and maintained out of the booty and pillage they acquire. In the year 1663. the *Tartar* called on occasion of the War in *Hungary* to the assistance of the *Turk*, they made such incursions into that Country, *Moravia*, and *Silesia*, sacking and burning all Cities and Towns, that they carried away one hundred and sixty thou-

thousand captive souls in one year; which precise number I am informed from those who had received good information of the Pengik or Certificates that were given upon every head; for the *Tartar* being an absolute free-booter, makes prize of all that comes within his power; and lest he should prey on the subjects of the *Turk*, they are bound to take out attestations from certain Registers, of the Names, Countries and Age of their Captives, lest they should deceive the *Turk* with the sale of those, who are already their own subjects and slaves.

The *Tartar* is to the *Turk*, as the *Giacall* to the *Lion*, who hunts and finds the prey for the *Lion* to overcome and feed on: And so the *Tartar* makes incursions into the neighbouring Countries round about, and pass in great bodies sometimes ten or twelve dayes without doing the least damage or spoil in their journey outward; but as soon as they turn their faces home, they rob, spoil, burn and carry all the Inhabitants of what Age or Sex soever, like a torrent before them; and every one of them leading three or four Horses a piece, on which they mount their Captives and load their prey, make a running march day and night with few hours intermission for natural repose, too fast for any orderly Army to overtake; and any other, that is not so, is not able to give them battel. Such of their slaves as in the journey are wounded and infirme, and not able to accompany the Camp, they kill; those which they bring safe into their own Country they sell to the *Turks*, who come thither to trade for this Merchandize, which is the most profitable commoditie that *Tartary* affords. Young Boyes and Girls are rated at the highest price, the latter of which being beautiful are like Jewels held at an unknown value; but few of them escape the lust of the *Tartars*, who deflower them even in the years of their very infancy. This sort of people were by the ancients called *Sermati*, and were always famous for their exploits on Horse-back, but heavy and ignorant of foot service; which Character *Tacitus* gives of them, *Lib. 1. Hist. Omnis Sermatum virtus quasi extra ipsos, nihil ad pedestrem pugnam, tam ignavum ubi per turmas advenere, vix ulla acies obstiterit, iners videtur sudore acquirere, quod possis sanguine purare, mirâ diversitate naturæ cum ijdem homines sic ament inertiam, & oderint quietem*: They live very hardly, and feed especially on horse-flesh, which dying in their march, they never examine his diseases, whether surfeited or overheated; but distributing his flesh amongst their Companions, placed it under their Saddles: and thus baked between the heat of the man and the horse, chafed with that days labour, is at night judged sufficiently prepared, as a dish fit for the Table of their Prince.

And as the men are nourished with a Diet of raw flesh, herbs and roots, or such as the Earth naturally produces without the concoction of the Fire to prepare it for their stomachs; so also their Horses are of a hardy temperament, patient of hunger and cold, and in the sharp Winter of those Countries, when the ground is covered with Snow, nourish themselves with the Barks of Trees, and such herbage as they can find at the bottom of the deep Snow. Their Towns or Villages consist of huts rather than houses, or hurdles made of sticks and covered with a course hair Cloth; of which Villages there are accounted two hundred thousand, so that taking one man out of every Village (as their custom is when they go to the War) they speedily form an Army

of two hundred thousand fighting men. But now having carried great riches out of *Poland*, and gained a considerable wealth by the Market of their slaves, some of them throw off their homely Plads to wear Sables, and some more frugal, employ their money for building Houses; the riotous and dissolute are addicted to strong Waters, and a drink called *Boza* made of a certain seed (which drank in a great quantity doth intoxicate, and is now much in use among the *Turks*) and give themselves up to a gluttony, as brutish as that which is natural unto Swine, having no art of sauces to provoke their appetite, but rest delighted with the meer contentment of idleness and a full stomach.

But this shall be sufficient to have spoken of the relation the *Tartars* have to the government of the *Turk*, and their subjection to this Empire, their customs and manners being more amply and fully described in other books.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the Tributary Princes to the Grand Signior, viz. Moldavians, Valachians, Transilvanians, Raguscans, &c.

THe power and puissance of an Empire is not more judged of by the many governors, the rich offices it can dispose of, the multitude of Provinces it contains in obedience, and the necessity it can impose on other Princes to seek its confederacy (which we have already treated of) then it is by the many tributaries which to redeem the remainder of their worldly goods, willingly sacrifice the best part to appease his fury, in whose power it is to master all: and so these distressed Nations, long wearied-out with tedious Wars, oppressed between the Emperour of *Germany*, the *Polander*, and the *Turk*, and more damaged by their own civil dissentions and domestick perfidiousness, then vanquished by the force of Arms, were forced at last to surrender up their fruitless Provinces to the devotion of the *Turk*, which are now harassed and oppressed beyond all expression, and are the meekest slaves to the *Turk* of all other his subjects; and may well be compared to the industrious Bee and profitable Sheep, whom he cares for and maintains alive for the sake of their Honey, and the interest of their Wool; and as if all this were too little, when it shall so be thought fit, he opens the gate to the incursions of the *Tartar*, who having gained a considerable booty of goods and captives, sells to the *Turks* for slaves, those which were before his subjects. These three poor Provinces formerly called the *Daci*, which withstood so long the *Roman* Arms, were alwayes esteemed a Valiant and Warlike people, according to that of *Virgil*, lib. 8. *Æn.*

Indomitiq; Dace, & pontem Indignatus Araxes.
& Juvenal. Sat. 5.

Dacius & scripto radiat Germanicus antro.

Which

Which Countries have been the Graves and Cemeteries of the *Turks*, and in these modern times been the stage on which so many Tragedies of War have been acted, being defended with as much valour and variety of successes, as could humanely be expected in so unequal a Match as was between those Provinces singly, and the *Ottoman* Empire. But now at last they are forced to yield, and become not only tributaries, but slaves and subjects to the *Turk*; who having deprived them of the true line of their natural Princes succeeding in a lawful inheritance, place over them some Christians of the Greek Church, without consideration of their conditions or riches, or qualifications; nay rather choose to give the Standart (which is the sign of the Grand Signiors confirmation of the Prince) to some inferior Person, as Taverners, Fish-mongers, or other meaner professions purposely to disparage the people with the baseness of their Governors, and expose them to the oppressions of men of no worth or dexterity in their office. It hath several times been under the consideration of the *Turks*, at length to reduce these three Provinces to the command of so many *Pashaws*, contrary to the original Capitulations agreed on at the time that these people first submitted to the *Ottoman* yoke: but as yet it hath been carried to the contrary, as more profitable and better serving the ends of the Empire; for hereby Christians become the instruments of torment to their own Brethren; Out-rages and Spoils may be the more boldly acted; more Turkish Officers employed on every slight occasion on gainful messages, and the people by long oppressions living under the jurisdiction of a Prince, who can rather spoil then protect, may be reconciled more willingly to the Turkish Government, and learn to value the gentleness and power of a *Pashaw*, compared with the remembrance of their former aggrievances. But of this government they will rather let them imagine the ease and sweetness then enjoy it; for were a *Pashaw* the Governor, the power of a *Turk* would be concerned for their protection, he would esteem himself their Patron, and his honour engaged in their defence, by which means these Countries would be relieved in a great measure of extortions and violences, which is not so beneficial to the *Turk*, as the present miserable estate in which they remain.

Moldavia called by the *Turks* *Bugdan*, was first made tributary to the *Turks* by *Mahomet* the great, but under the small tribute of 2000 Crowns per annum; afterwards *Bogdanus Vayvod* thereof, anno 1485. fearing to become absolute Vassal to the *Turk*, taking to his association the Kingdom of Poland, took up Arms against *Selymus* the second, by whom being drawn out from his Country, *John* a *Moldavian* Born, but one who had embraced the *Mahometan* superstition, was preferred by *Selymus* to the Principality; but no sooner was he seated therein but he returned to his former Religion, for which cause the *Turk* taking into his assistance the Province of *Valachia*, made War upon *Moldavia*; but *John* the *Vayvod* by trechery losing his life, this Province fell totally into the power of the *Turk*, and was united to his Empire in the year 1574. The tribute in those days of this Province is recorded in the *Turkish History* to have been 40000 *Zechins* or 80000 Dollars; but now whatsoever may be reported, the tribute of these Countries is, or was, the Reader may take this following account for what is the certainly paid

The word *Vayvod* signifies as much as *praefectus Militia*, or the General of an Army.

Moldavia.

paid, being related to me from one who had for many years been employed for *Vayvod* both in *Moldavia* and *Valachia* by the *Turk*, viz. the yearly tribute of *Moldavia* is,

Its annual
tribute.

1. To the Grand Signior 120 purses of money; each purse containing 500 Dollars, makes 60000 Dollars.
2. Ten thousand Okes of Wax, each Oke being two pounds and a half *English* weight.
3. Ten thousand Okes of Honey.
4. Six hundred Quintals of Tallow for the *Arsenal*.
5. Five hundred Oxe Hides.
6. Five hundred pieces of Canvas for Cloathing, and Shirts for the Slaves, and other services for the Gallies.
7. 1230 Okes of Wax for the service of the *Arsenal*.
8. To the chief Visier ten Purse of money or 5000 Dollars, and a Sables Furré for a Vest.
9. To the Visiers *Kahija* or chief Steward, one Purse or 500 Dollars.

10. To the *Testerdar* or Lord Treasurer the same, as to the *Kahija*.

This is the ordinary and annual tribute this Country acknowledges to the supremacy of the *Sultan*; and it were well and happy for this people were it all; but there are so many accidental expences, pretensions and artifices of the *Turks*, framed and contrived messages meerly to extract money and presents from this oppressed and harassed people, as do more then equal, and sometimes double the charge of their yearly tribute. To which you may adde the price paid for the Principality, which is every three years set to sale, and is

To the Grand Signior 150 Purse, or 75000 Dollars.

To the *Valede* or Queen Mother 50 Purse, or 25000 Dollars.

The price of
the Principa-
lity.

To the Grand Signiors Favourite, who is commonly some handsome young youth, ten Purse, or 5000 Dollars.

And to the *Kussir Aga* or chief Black Eunuch, who is Superintendent over the Ladies in the *Seraglio*, ten Purse of money.

And lastly, to the prime Visier and other Officers, for as much as they can beat their bargain. All which money is taken up at Interest of 40 or 50 *per cent*. sometimes on condition to be doubled; and this is done by men who having no Estates of their own, the debt becomes to be charged on the Country, which is pillaged and poled for it to the very bones, first to satisfy the price of the Principality with the Interest-money for what it was valued, then to pay the annual tribute, then to satisfy the multitude of covetous *Turks*, who like so many Vultures pursue after the Skeliton of this consumed Carkas: And lastly, the Prince himself must take his accounts, and take his Measures to be capable for the future, after he hath laid aside the Ornament of his Office, to live in some proportion agreeable to his past condition; and this is neither done moderately nor modestly, but with a covetousness and greedy appetite, commonly incident to the nature of men born of mean Parentage and educated with the parsimony of a scanty house; who also thereunto adde many grains of allowance to the limits of their gains, in consideration of the yearly Gratuities they must make to reconcile the Friendship of the chief Turkish Ministers, whereby they may enjoy protection for their Persons and Estates.

The

The state and condition of the Province of *Walachia* is not better, but rather worse, and more afflicted then that of *Moldavia*; for this Country being now equally with the former in the sole and entire disposal and possession of the *Turk*, to whom it became first tributary under their own Princes in the time of *Sultan Bajazet*: Afterward in the year 1462. *Mahomet* the Great undertook the entire Conquest of it, then governed by its *Vayvod Wladus*, whose younger Brother supported by the *Turk*, and a factious party in that Country, possessed himself of the Principality, contenting himself to be Vassal to the Turkish Empire; afterwards in the year 1595. *Michael* the *Vayvod* thereof joining himself with *Sigismund* of *Transilvania*, and with the *Vayvod* of *Moldavia* waged a long and terrible War against the *Turks*, until revolutions, unquietness, and factions have so spent them as that they are at length become another addition to the Empire of the *Turks*, who now impose on them a heavy yoke and a strait curb, not to be imputed to any thing more then to Divine Justice, which takes occasion to exercise a hand of severity against the unseasonable negligence, sedition and variance of Christians amongst themselves, at a time when the common enemy to their profession attended only the opportunity of their own dissentions, to enter and devour them.

The tribute of *Walachia* to the Grand Signior, was formerly 120 Purles of money, or 60000 Dollars yearly, according to that of *Moldavia*, and had so still continued had not lately *Matthew* the *Vayvod* about the year 1655. grown rich, and therefore forgetful of his condition (having by friends and large presents at the Port, procured a continuation of his Office for the space of nineteen or twenty years) rebelled against the *Turk*, taking false measures of his wealth and power as able to encounter the puissance of the *Ottoman* Empire; but being soon put to the worst and forced to yield, his life was spared, and the safety of his Country redeemed upon the augmentation of their tribute; so that now, that which was yearly paid being 120 Purles of money,

1. Is become to the Grand Signior 260 Purles, or one hundred and thirty thousand Dollars.

2. There is paid 15000 Okes of Honey.

3. 9000 Okes of Wax.

4. To the Prime Visier ten Purles of money, or 5000 Dollars, and a Vest of Sables.

5. To the *Testerdar* or Lord Treasurer one Purse of money, or 500 Dollars, and a Vest of Sables.

6. To the *Kussir Aga*, or chief Eunuch of the Women 12000 Aspers.

7. To the Visiers *Kabija* or Steward five hundred Dollars, and a Vest of Sables.

The other charges and value set on this Province when triennially sold, is not less then that of *Moldavia*; the method and arts used for extorting money from thence are the same, the oppression in every point equal, unless the remembrance of the extravagant disorder of *Matthew* the *Vayvod* still kept in mind, emboldens the *Turk* with more confident pretences to work more desolation and impoverishment in this Province. Now lately a Prince was settled there by order of the Grand Signior, in the year 1664. called *Stridia Bei* by the Greeks, which

Every Oke is
two pounds
and a half
English.

which signifies a Lord that had gained some fortune from selling Oysters and Fish; this person succeeded *Gregorasco* the late Prince, who fearing the anger of the Prime Visier for returning home with his Army without licence, defeated by General *Susa* near *Lewa*, fled for safety of his life into the Dominions of the Emperour: The *Turks* who always avenge the crimes of the Governors on the people, or of the subjects on the Governors, raised the price of the Principality to a higher value, causing *Stridia Bei* (as I am confidently informed, who was contented to accept it at any rate) to pay for it 800 Purfes of money, or four hundred thousand Dollars; to which being added the interest before mentioned, the sum may easily be computed that this new *Vayvod* engulfed himself in; and I leave the Reader to imagine with what glad hearts and blessings the people of that Country went forth to receive their Bankrupt Prince.

Nor is *Transilvania* wholly exempted from the oppression of the *Turks*; for after several revolutions from the time of *Huniades* made *Vayvod* by *Uladislaus* the fourth King of *Hungary*, Anno 1450, a great defender of his Country against the Infidels, until the time of *Stephen* the seventh, surnamed *Ragotzki*, Patronized by the *Turks*, Anno 1630. This Principality remained sometimes at the devotion and disposal of the King of *Hungary*, of *Poland*, of the Emperour, and sometime of the *Turks*; until by the growing greatness of the *Ottomans*, the *Turks* became Masters of the best part of this Country. But yet *Transilvania* is more tenderly and more honourably treated than the other two Provinces, their tribute being much less, and their Princes chosen for the most part more regularly from the ancient Line, or at least from the honourable houses of the Boyars or Nobility, who have an affinity or alliance with the true blood of the former *Vayvods*. Their ancient tribute was only 6000 *Zeckins* yearly, but afterwards were added 9000 more annually, for acknowledgment of certain Castles which *Ragotzki* had taken from *Poland*, which the *Turk* demanding to have resigned into his possession, were for that sum redeemed, and still detained in the hands of the *Transilvanians*; over and above which they only pay 300 Dollars and two silver Bowls to the seven Visiers of the Bench: And this is all the acknowledgment they make to the *Turk*, who demonstrates more respect always to this Prince and his Messages, than those of the neighbour Provinces, by reason that that Country is not totally in his power (certain strong fortresses being in the hand of the Emperour of *Germany*) for whose sake this people is more gently dealt with, lest too much severity should occasion them to revolt; And this consideration induced the *Turks* to treat modestly with *Michael Apafi* the Prince of this Country in the late Wars in *Hungary*, by trusting much to his conduct, by using him like an honourable Confederate, by permitting him freely to possess *Zekelhyd* after its voluntary surrender of a *Turk* as his Superior; and for his farther encouragement gave out, that when the *Sultan* had totally subdued *Hungary*, those parts which were not subject to *Pashaws*, should be annexed to his Dominions, and he honoured with the Title of King of *Hungary*.

These Princes of the three foregoing Provinces are farther obliged to serve the Grand Signior in his Wars, whensoever summoned thereunto; but

but with what number, and in what manner, we reserve for its due place in the Treatise of the *Turks* Militia and Auxiliaries.

The City and small Dominion of *Ragusi*, is also another tributary to the *Turk*; which is a petty Common-wealth, not vouchsafed the Title of a Republick, neither by the *Venetians* nor the *Pope*, and only styled *la comunità di Ragusi*, which is a Town in *Dalmatia*, commanding over a narrow and barren Territory of a few Villages, which for the space of above 150 miles extends it self along the Sea-coast, and some little Islands of no great consideration: It was anciently called *Epidaurus* (of which name there were two other Cities in *Peloponnesus*) but that being rased by the *Goths*, the Inhabitants after their departure rebuilt again this City of *Ragusi*, giving it a new name as well as a new foundation. The government of it in the nature of a Common-wealth is more ancient then that of *Venice*, having preserved it self more by art and submission to some powerful Protector, then to its own force; which caused them to court the friendship of the *Turk*, before he was Master of any part of *Europe*; and as their Records report, it was upon the advice of a Holy Nun, esteemed a great Saint amongst them; who prophecyng of the future greatness of the Turkish Empire, assured them that the only means to preserve for many Ages their Common-wealth free and happy, was to submit themselves to one of the most prosperous of Princes, to whose Dominion the best part of the world should be subdued: Whereupon two Embassadors were dispatched to the City of *Prusa* (then the Regal Seat, before the utter ruine of the *Grecian* Empire) with presents to the *Sultan Orchanes*, desiring to become his tributaries, and in consideration thereof to strengthen their weak Common-wealth with assistance, under the shadow of his prevalent protection. There is no doubt, but the *Sultan* then received them the more courteously, and promised the maintenance of a former League, by how much the distance they were at as yet, gave them the less cause to fear his arms; wherefore the tribute being agreed on of twelve thousand and five hundred *Zechins* yearly, they were returned home with all demonstrations of courtesie, and assurances of defence: *Orchanes* entered into Articles with them, bestowed on them a grant of all the immunities and priviledges they desired, the which he signed with the form of his whole hand wetted in Ink and clapped on the Paper, which was all the Firm and Seal in those days, and is now revered amongst the *Turks* with the same esteem, as the Jews do the Tables of *Moses*, or we the most sacred and holy reliques; ever since that time this tribute hath yearly continued, and been brought always in the Moneth of *July* by two Embassadors, who reside at the Turkish Court for the space of a year, the former returning home; these are relieved at the same season of the following year, by the accession of two others with the like tribute; which with the presents they also bring to the Prime Visier, the chief Eunuch of the Women, the Queen-Mother and other *Sultans*, with the charges and expence of the Embassie, is computed to amount yearly to the sum of twenty thousand *Zechins*.

They were in times past, before the War between the Republick of *Venice* and the *Turk*, very poor, and put to hard shifts and arts to raise the Turkish tribute; but this War hath opened their scale, and made it the Port for transmitting the Manufactures of *Venice* and all *Italy*

into *Turky*, which yields them such considerable customs, as thereby their tribute is supplied with advance, and their other necessities provided for: So that now the old Ornaments of the Embassadors, as their black Velvet Bonnets, and Gowns of Crimson Satten, lined heretofore with *Martins* Fur, but now with Sables; are not layed up in the common Wardrobe for the Embassadors of the succeeding year, but a new Equipage and Accoutrements are yearly supplied at the common charge: and thus they pass honestly and in good esteem at the *Ottoman* Court, being called the *Dowbrai Venedick* by the *Turks*, or the good *Venetian*.

This petty Republick hath always supported it self by submission, and addresses for favour and defence to divers powerful Princes, courting the favour of every one, never offering injuries, and when they receive them patiently support them; which is the cause the *Italians* call them *le sette bandiere*, or the seven Banners, signifying that for their being and maintenance of the name of a free Republick, they are contented to become slaves to all parts of the world. And it is observable on what a strange form of jealous policie their Government is founded; for their chief officer who is in imitation of the Doge at *Venice*, is changed every moneth, others weekly; and the Governour of the principal Castle of the City, is but of twenty four hours continuance; every night one is nominated by the Senate for Governour, who is without any preparation or ceremony taken up as he walks the streets, having a handkerchief thrown over his face, is led away blindfold to the Castle, so as none can discover who it is that commands that night; and by that means all possibility of conspiracy or combination of betraying the Town prevented. These people in former times were great Traders into the Western parts of the world; and it is said, that those vast *Car-racks* called *Argosies*, which are so much famed for the vastness of their burthen and bulk, were corruptly so denominated from *Ragosies*, and from the name of this City, whose Port is forced rather by Art and industry, then framed by nature.

The tributa-
ries of Georgia
and Mengre-
lia.

Some of the Provinces also of *Georgia*, formerly *Iberia*, but now supposed to be called from St. *George* the *Cappadocian* Martyr, and the poor Country of *Mengrelia*, are also tributaries to the *Turk*, who every three years send messengers with their sacrifice to the Grand Signior of seven young Boyes, and as many Virgins a piece, besides other slaves for Presents to great men: this people chuse rather this sort of tribute then any other, because custom hath introduced a forwardness in the Parents without remorse to sell their Children, and to account slavery a preferment, and the miseries of a servitude a better condition then Poverty with freedom; of the whole retinue which these beggerly Embassadors bring with them (for so the *Turks* called them) being about seventy or eighty persons, a crue of miserable people are all set to sale, to the very Secretary and Steward, to defray the charge of the Embassy, and bring back some Revenue to the publick Stock; so that the Embassadors return without their Pomp, reserving only the Interpreter as a necessary attendant to their voyage home.

The Emperour of *Germany* may also not improperly be termed one of the tributaries to the *Ottoman* Empire (whom for honour sake we mention in the last place in so ungrateful an office) being obliged accordingly

cording to the Articles made with *Solyman* the Magnificent to pay a yearly tribute of 3000 *Hungars*, but it was onely paid the first two years after the conclusion of the Peace; afterward it was excused by the *Germans*, and dissembled by the *Turks*; until taking a resolution to make a War on *Hungary*, made that one ground and occasion of the breach: for upon the truce made for eight years between *Sultan Solyman* and the Emperour *Ferdinand*, as *Augerius Busbeck* reports in those Capitulations, that the tribute is made the foundation of the accord. *Cujus concordie, pacis, ac confederationis hæ conditiones sunt primò, ut tua dilectio quotannis ad aulam nostram pro arra induciarum 30000 Hungaricos Ducatos mittere teneatur, unà cum residuo, quod nobis per proxime præterlapsum biennium reservetur.*

CHAP. XV.

The Desolation and Ruine which the Turks make of their own Countries in Asia, and the parts most remote from the Imperial Seat, esteemed one cause of the conservation of their Empire.

THIS position will appear a Paradox at first sight to most men who have read and consider'd the *Roman* Conquest, whose jurisdiction and Dominions were far larger then this present Empire; and yet we do not find that they so studiously endeavoured to dispeople, and lay waste the Nations they subdued; but rather encouraged industry in Plantations, gave priviledges to Cities meanly stored, invited people to inhabit them, endeavoured to improve Countries rude and uncultivate with good Husbandry, and Maritime Towns with Traffick and Commerce; made Citizens of their confederates, and conferred on their conquered subjects oftentimes greater benefits then they could expect or hope for under their true and natural Princes; and certainly the *Romans* thrived and were richer and more powerful by their policy; and therefore why the *Turk* might not proceed in the same manner, and yet with the same advantage, is worth our consideration.

For the solution of which difficulty, it will be necessary to consider that these two Empires being compared, there will be found a vast difference in the original, foundation, progress and maximes each of other. For the *Romans* built their City in peace, made Laws by which the arbitrary will of the Prince was corrected; and afterward as their Arms succeeded, and their Dominions were extended, they accommodated themselves often to present necessities and humours, and constitutions of the people they had conquered, and accordingly made provision, and used proper Arts to keep them in obedience; and next, by their generosity and wisdom won those Nations to admire and imitate their virtues, and to be contented in their subjection. But the *Turks* have but one sole means to maintain their Countries, which is the same by which they were gained, and that is the cruelty of the sword in the most rigorous way of execution, by killing, consuming and laying

desolate the Countries, and transplanting the people unto parts where they are nearest under the command and age of a Government; being wholly destitute and ignorant of other refined Arts, which more civilized Nations have in part made serve in the place of violence. And yet the *Turks* have made this course alone answer to all the intents and ends of their Government.

For the Subjects of this Empire being governed better by Tyranny than Gentleness, it is necessary, that courses should be taken whereby these people may remain more within compass and reach of Authority, which they would hardly be, were every part of this Empire so well inhabited as to afford entertainment within the Fortifications of its vast Mountains and Woods, to the many inquiet and discontented spirits that live in it. And this may be one cause, that so rarely Rebelions arise amongst the *Turks*, though in the remotest parts of *Asia*; and when they do, are easily suppressed: This also is one cause, why Great men so easily resign themselves up to the will of the Grand Signior to punishment and death, whether the sentence be according to Law, or only Arbitrary: this is the reason that fugitives and homicides cannot escape; for having no place for flight, neither the inhabited Cities which are immediately under the eye of a vigilant Commander will afford them refuge, nor can the desolate Countries entertain them; and Christendom is so abhorred by them, that they will never take it for their Sanctuary. And thus deprived of all means of safety, they wholly attend to please and serve their Great Master, in whose favour and hands alone is the reward and punishment.

Another advantage, and that not inconsiderable, that this manner of dispeopling the Country brings to this Empire, is the difficulty an enemy would find in their March, should they with a Landed-Army attempt to penetrate far into the Country; for without great quantities of Provision they could not possibly be sustained; from the Country none can be expected; what little it affords, the Inhabitants will conceal or carry away; and leave all places as naked and barren of Food for man, as the Sea is left.

And though it is known often, that in *Asia* the Troops of some discontented *Beis* or *Agas*, to the number of three or four hundred men, in the Summer-time having their retirements in the Woods and Mountains, assault *Caravans*, and rob all Passengers from whom there is any hope of booty; yet in the Winter they are dispersed, because they have no Quarters against the weather, nor Provisions for humane subsistence, every one shifting for himself in some place where his condition is the least known or suspected.

And it may not be here from our purpose to admonish the Reader, that as the *Turks* account it one good part of their policy, to lay a considerable part of their Empire desolate; so on the contrary, they observe in their new Conquests to fortifie, strengthen and confirm what they have gained, by numbers of people, and new Colonies of their own; and when they have reduced any considerable Country to their subjection, they commonly are inclined to make peace with that Prince from whom they have won it, so as to have time to settle and secure their new Conquests; for Countries over-run in haste, are almost as speedily again recovered, and are like tempests and sudden storms, which

which are the sooner dispersed for being violent. *Augustus Caesar*, who was a wise and judicious Prince, considering the extent of the *Roman Empire*, wrote a Book, saith *Tacitus*, which was published after his death, wherein he described the publick Revenue, the number of Citizens and Confederates listed for the War, the Fleets, Kingdoms, Provinces, Tributes, Customs, &c. *Addideratq; insuper Consilium coercendi intra terminos imperii, incertum*, saith that Author, *Adem, an per invidiam*; which doubtless this wise Emperour meant of a moderate, and not a precipitate progress of their Arms, as well as of prescribing fixed limits to the ultimate confines of the Empire, beyond which a Statute should be made of *Non plus ultra*, notwithstanding the most promising designs and incitements that could offer.

Tac. Lib. 1: Annal.

CHAP. XVI.

All Hereditary succession in Government, as also the preservation of an ancient Nobility, against the Maxims of the Turkish Politie.

HAVING formerly entred into discourse of the several great Officers of State, it will be necessary to declare what care the *Turks* take to preserve the body of their Empire free of Faction and Rebellion; for there being many Provinces in the *Sultans* gift, which are remote, rich and powerful, and so administer temptation to the Governours to throw off the yoke of their dependence, and make themselves and their Posterity absolute; great care is taken to prevent this mischief by several Arts, none of which hath been more effectual amongst the *Turks*, nor more sedulously practised, then the destruction of an ancient Nobility; and admitting no succession to Offices or Riches, but only in the direct *Ottoman Line*, as my Lord *Verulam* says, *Essay 14. A Monarchy where there is no Nobility at all, is ever pure and absolute Tyranny, as that of the Turks; for Nobility attempts Sovereignty, and draws the people somewhat aside from the Line Royal.* By which means it comes to pass, that *Pashaws* education in the *Seraglio* (in the manner as we have said before) without knowledge of their blood or family, and without the support of powerful relations or dependences, being sent abroad to foreign Governments, where they continue but for a short season, have no opportunity or possibility of advancing any interest of their own above that of the *Sultan*. And though some have out of an aspiring and ambitious spirit, assumed a blind confidence of rearing away part of the Empire; as *Asan Aga Pashaw* of *Aleppo* of late years, with a strong and powerful Army marched as far as *Scutari*, threatening the Imperial City; and the *Turkish History* tells us of the revolt of several *Pashaws*; yet all these Rebellions have been but of short durance; the Grand Signior never designing by open force and dint of Sword, to try his Title to the Empire with his own Slaves, but only by some secret plot and stratagem, getting the head of the Rebel, he is assured of the Victory without other hazard or dispute of War: for immediately thereupon the whole Army disperses, and every one shifts by flight to save himself from

from the *Sultans* anger; nor is it imaginable it can be otherwise; for these men are but strangers and foreigners in the Countries they ruled, have no relations there or kindred to second or revenge their quarrel, have no ancient blood or possessions which might entitle their heirs to the succession, or out of affection or pity move their Subjects to interest themselves in their behalf; but being cut off themselves, all falls with them, which affords the strangest spectacle, and example of fortunes unconstancy in the world; for a *Turk* is never revered but for his office, that is made the sole measure and rule of his greatness and honour, without other considerations of Vertue or Nobility. And this is the reason the *Turks* value not their great men when taken by the Enemy; for not otherwise looking on them then on ordinary Soldiers, they exchange them not with Commanders and persons of Quality on the Christians party; for the favour of the *Sultan* makes the *Pashaw*, and not noble blood or virtues; so that the *Pashaw* imprisoned losing the influence of his Sovereigns protection and greatness, loses that also which rendred him noble and considerable above other persons.

There are notwithstanding some *Pashaws* of petty Governments, who have obtained to themselves, through some ancient grace and privilege from the *Sultan*, an hereditary succession in their Government, and as I can learn, those are only the *Pashaws* of *Gaza*, *Cordistan*, and three *Sangiacks* formerly mentioned under the *Pashaw* of *Damascus* and *Matick*, and *Turcman* under the *Pashaw* of *Aleppo*. And since I have mentioned the *Pashaw* of *Gaza*, it will be but requisite to recall to mind the memory of one lately of that place with much honour and reverence, being one whose actions and devotion to the Christian worship, might conclude him not far from the *Kingdom of God*: for besides his favourable inclination in general, to all who professed the Christian Faith; he was much devoted to the Religious of *Jerusalem*, to whom he often made Presents, as provisions of Rice and other supplies for their Monastery; and when once the *Father Guardian of the holy Sepulchre* came to make him a Visit, with great respect and reverence, he met him at a good distance from his house, giving him a reception much different from what the *Turks* usually bestow on any, who profess other then the *Mahometane* faith: and might deserve the Character that *Tacitus* gives of *L. Volusius*, that he was *Egregia fama, cui Septaginta quinque anni spatium vivendi, præcipueque opes bonis artibus, inoffensa tot Imperatorum malitia fuit*. And yet this good man having for seventy five years lived innocently in that Government, and received the inheritance from his Father, was by promise of fair treatment allured to the Port, where without farther process or any accusation, his hoary head was severed from his body, for no other reason, then left the permission and indulgence to this long continuance and succession in office, should prove too ample a deviation from the rules of the *Turkish Politie*.

And that all means of attaining ancient riches, which is the next degree to Nobility, may be cut off; the *Turk* observes this Maxim of *Machiavel*, *à reprimere la insolenza di uno; non vie piu sicuro, et meno scandaloso modo, che preoccupargli quelle vie, per le quale viene quella potenza*: and so the Grand Signior suffers no possibility of arriving to
ancient

ancient wealth; for as Eldest Brother to great men he makes seizure of the Estates of all *Pashaws* that die, who having Children, such part is bestowed on them for their maintenance as the Grand Signior shall think fit and requisite: If a *Pashaw* dies that is married to a *Soltana*, which is the Grand Signiors Sister, Daughter, or other near relation, her Kabin or Dowry is first deducted from the Estate (which is commonly 100000 Dollars) and the remainder accrues to the *Sultan*, as heir to the rest; and by this means all ancient Nobility is suppressed, and you shall find the Daughters of ancient Greek Houses espoused to Shepherds and Carters, and the ancient Reliques of the noble Families of *Catacuzeno* and *Paleoligi*, living more contemptuously at *Constantinople*, then ever *Dionysius* did at *Corinth*.

But not only in *Pashaws* and great men is care taken to clip their wings, which may hinder them from soaring too high, but also in the *Ottoman* Family it self greater severity and strictness is exercised then in others, to keep them from growing great in offices or wealth, whereby to have possibility of aspiring to the Supreme power; and therefore by the original and Fundamental Laws of *Turky*, the Children of a *Soltana* married to a *Pashaw* are not capable of any office in the Empire, and at most cannot rise higher, then to be in the quality of a *Capugibashie*, which is one of the Porters of the Grand Signiors Gate. They that are of this race never dare vaunt of their Pedigree, it is a contumaciousness and almost Treason to name it; nor have I learned that there is any Family amongst the *Turks* of this Line, of any account or esteem, but one alone, who is called *Ibrahim Han Ogleri*, or the offspring of *Sultan Ibrahim*, their Father being a Son of the Grand Signiors Sister, and married to a *Soltana* (and are said to be of the race of the *Tartars*) so that proceeding by the Womans side only, the less notice is taken of their blood: their Rent or Revenue yearly is about 70000 Dollars, *Quibus magna opes, innocenter parte, & modeste habite*, which they manage with prudence and discretion, live honourably without ostentation, seek no office, or intermeddle in the affairs of State; by which means they hitherto have preserved themselves from envy and suspicion in the revolutions of the *Turkish* Government.

The Grand Signior many times when he fears the greatness of any *Pashaw*, under colour and pretence of honour, prefers him to the Marriage of his Sister, or some other of his Feminine kindred; by which means, instead of increase of power and glory, he becomes the miserablest slave in the world to the Tyranny and Pride of an insulting Woman: For first he cannot refuse the honour, lest he should seem to neglect and contemn the *Sultans* favour; then before the Espousals, he must resolve to continue constant to her alone, and not suffer his Affections to wander on other Wives, Slaves or distractions of his love: If he hath a Wife whom he loves, whose long conversation and Children she hath brought him, have endeared his affections too far to be forgotten; he must yet banish her and all other relations from his home, to entertain the embraces of his unknown *Soltana*: Before the Espousals, what Money, Jewels or rich Furs she sends for, he must with complement and cheerfulness present, which is called *Aghirlick*; besides this, he makes her a Dowry called Kabin, of as much as friends that make the match can agree; when the Kabin is concluded and passed before the Justice

The Marriage
of a *Pashaw*
with a *Soltana*.

in

in form or nature of a recognisance; the Bridegroom is conducted to the Chamber of his Bride by a Black Eunuch, at whose entrance the custom is, for the *Soltana* to draw her Dagger, and imperiously to demand the reason of his bold access, which he with much submission replies to, and shews the *Emmeri Podeshaw*, or the Imperial Firme for his Marriage; the *Soltana* then arises, and with more kindness admits him to a nearer familiarity. The Eunuch takes up his Slippers and lays them over the Door (which is a sign of his good reception) then he bows with all reverence before her to the Ground, and retires a few paces back, making some brief Oration to her full of Complement and Admiration of her Worth and Honour; and remaining afterwards a while silent, in an humble posture, bowing forward with his hands before him, until the *Soltana* commands him to bring her water, which he readily obeys, taking a Pot of water provided for that purpose, and kneeling before her, delivers it to her hand; then she takes off her red veil from before her face, embroidered with Gold and Silver Flowers, and so drinks; in the mean time her Serving-maids bring in a low Table, on which are set a pair of Pigeons roasted, and a plate of Sugar-candy; the Bridegroom then invites his coy Spouse to the Collation, which she refuses until other Presents are brought her, which lie prepared in the outward room; with which her modesty being overcome and her stomach brought down, she is perswaded to the Table, and sitting down, receives a Leg of a Pigeon from the hand of her Bridegroom; tastes a little, and then puts a piece of the Sugar-candy into his mouth; and so rising up returns to her place; all the Attendants then retire and leave the Bridegroom alone with his *Soltana* for the space of an hour to court her singly; that time being past, the Musick sounding, he is invited forth by his Friends to an outward room, where having passed most of the night with songs and sports, at the approach of the morning, the *Soltana* weary of her pastime retires to her bed, which is rich adorned and perfumed, fit to entertain Nuptial Joyes: The Bridegroom advised hereof by the nod of the Eunuch, creeps silently into the Bride-chamber, where stripping himself of his upper Garments, he kneels a while at the feet of the Bed, and then by little and little turning up the Cloaths, gently rubs her feet with his hand, and kissing of them, ascends higher to the embraces of his Spouse, which she willingly admits him to, and wishes her self and him a happy Bedding: in the morning betimes the Bridegroom is called by his Friends to the Bath; at whose call arising, he is presented by the Bride with all sorts of Linnen to be used in Bathing; after these Ceremonies are past, they are better acquainted, yet in publick she keeps him at a distance, wears her Hani-arre or Dagger by her side in token of her Superiority; and so frequently commands gifts and riches from him, until she hath exhausted him to the bottom of all his wealth. Nor is this esteemed sufficient to mortifie these poor slaves by a Womans Tyranny, but they are always put forward upon desperate attempts, as lately *Ishmael Pashaw*, who was killed passing the River *Raab*, in the overthrow given the *Turks* by the Emperors Forces under *Montecuculi*; and others I could name in the like manner; lest the honour of their Marriage in the Royal Family without the crosses and mortifications which attend it, should puff them up with the ambition and proud thoughts, which is not lawful for them to imagine.

But

But it may well be objected how it came to pass, that the present Prime Visier called *Abmet*, should succeed his Father *Kuperlee* in the Government of the Empire. 'Tis true, it was a strange deviation from the general rule of their Policy, and perhaps such a president as may never hereafter be brought into example; but accidents concur oftentimes to the fortune of some men without order or reason; and yet *Kuperlee* the Father had so well deserved of the *Sultan*, and his whole Dominions, for having by his own wisdom and resolution saved the Empire from being rent in pieces by the faction and ambition of some aspiring persons, and by the blood of thousands of mutinous and rebellious heads, had cemented and made firm the throne of his Master, that no honour could be thought sufficient to be paid to his Ghost, unless it were the succession of his Son in his place; which the more unusual and irregular it was esteemed, the greater glory it was to that family; and herein also this subtle fox plaid his Master-piece, by representing the state of affairs to remain in that posture, as was necessary to be carried on with the same method as begun; which he had intrusted to the knowledge of his Son; and this was the reason why this young Visier then scarce arrived to thirty years, and but an ordinary *Kadee* or Justice of the Law, was both as to his age and relation thus irregularly preferred to the office of Visier.

The reasons why *Abmet* *Pashaw* present Visier, succeeded his Father *Kuperlee* in Government.

Nor hath hereditary succession and long continuance in authority been only avoided amongst the *Turks*; but we find that the *Romans* often changed their Governours, and never suffered them to continue long in one Province; and so the King of *Spain* doth at present in the Government of *Flanders*, the *Indies*, the Kingdom of *Naples* and other parts, the space of three years being commonly allotted them for their residence. But amongst the *Turks* there is no fixed term of time appointed to their *Pashaws*, but only they remain as Tenants at Will of the Grand Signior; who according to his pleasure, and as he sees reason cuts them off, recalls them, or transplants them to another Province; only the *Pashaw* of Grand *Cairo* in *Egypt*, hath a certain space of three years appointed, to which his Government is confined; and there may be very good reason for it; for it being a place of great trust, riches and power, in which *Pashaws* grow in a short time vastly wealthy, it cannot be wisdom to continue them long there; the revenue of which we have had occasion already to discourse of. And therefore the Grand Signior doth often, not only abbreviate their time, but also at their return shares in the best part of the prizes they have made. The *Romans* had that opinion of the wealth and power of *Egypt*, that *Augustus* made a Decree, and held it *inter alia dominationis arcana*, that it should not be lawful for any without particular licence to enter *Egypt*, and expressly forbids Senators and Gentlemen of *Rome*, without order from the Prince, or for affairs of State, to visit those parts. And *Tacitus* gives this reason for it, *Ne fame urgeret Italiam quisquis eam Provinciam, claustraq; terræ ac maris, quamvis levi præsidio adversum ingentes exercitus insedisset.*

Lib. 1.

Another danger to the Empire, which the *Turks* sedulously avoid, besides hereditary succession in office, is rivalry among Princes of the Blood, during the time of their Fathers life; for afterwards the successor takes care to secure his Brethren beyond possibility of competition.

tion. The story of *Selymus* and *Bajazet*, the Sons of *Solyman* the Magnificent, is a perfect experiment of the feud and dissention which is bred in the desires of barbarous Princes; so that when they arrive to any maturity of age, they are always transplanted to different *Seraglios* abroad, where they keep their Courts distinct, and cannot enter within the Walls of *Constantinople*, during the life of their Father, lest by interview with each other, their minds should be moved with emulation, or inhabiting in the Imperial City, should be provided with means before their time to attempt the Throne of their Father. And for this very reason the Grand Signior hath scarce performed the ceremonies of his Inauguration before he hath seasoned his entrance to his Throne with the blood of his Brothers; which barbarous custom began in the time of *Sultan Bajazet*. But if the Brothers are but few, and the Grand Signior of a disposition more naturally inclined to clemency than cruelty, he secures them in the *Seraglio*, under the tuition of Masters, and care of a faithful guard; differing nothing from imprisonment, but in the name, prohibiting them the society and conversation of all: and thus the two Brothers of this present *Sultan Mahomet*, live in as much obscurity and forgetfulness, as if they had never been born, or having past a private life, were departed to the place where all things are forgotten.

It is no great digression from our purpose here to take notice of two sorts of Government purely popular; the one hath already had his period, and the other is of late beginning, and at present flourishes; and those are the Common-wealths in *Egypt* under the *Mamaluks*, and the other in our days in the Dominions of *Algier*: The first not only deposed the whole Family of their Prince from having power in the Government, and from all succession, but also made it an immutable law, that the Sons of the *Mamaluks* might succeed their Fathers in the inheritance of their estates, as lands and goods, but could not assume the title or Government of a *Mamaluke*; nor not only so, but that all that were born in the *Mahometan* or *Jewish* Faith, were incapable *ipso facto* of the Order of a *Mamaluke*; and only such preferred thereunto, who had been Sons of Christians and become Slaves, instructed and educated in the *Mahometan* superstition; or else men of maturer age, who having abjured God and their Country, were come thither to seek preferment in that Kingdom of darkness. And this slavish and strange constitution of Government flourished for the space of 267 years, until overthrown in the year of our Lord 1517, by the arms of *Selymus* that victorious Emperour of the *Turks*. The present Government of *Algier* is but of a few years; the first original of which was by one *Barbarose* a famous Pyrate, and afterwards by the accession of great quantities of *Turks* out of the *Levant*, the protection of the Grand Signior was craved, and a *Pashaw* received from the Port; but now the *Pashaw* remains without any power; the whole Government being transferred to the scum of the people; who fearing lest the power should at last become subject to the Natives, have made it a law, that no Sons of a *Turk* born in that Country, whom they call *Cololies*, can be capable of an office in their Common-wealth; but only such, who having been born Christians, are perverted to the *Turkish* sect, or else such who come from parts of the *Turkish* Dominions, to be members of their Repub-

Republique. And thus much shall serve to have declared how much the *Turks* are jealous of all successions in office and authority, which may prejudice the absolute Monarchy of their great *Sultan*.

CHAP. XVII.

The frequent exchange of Officers, viz. the setting up of one, and degrading another, a rule always practised as wholesome, and conducing to the welfare of the Turkish State.

HE that is an eye-witness and strict observer of the various changes and chances in greatness, honours and riches of the *Turks*, hath a lively Embleme of contemplation before him, of the unconstancy and mutability of humane affairs; fortune so strangely sports with this people, that a Comedy or Tragedy on the Stage with all its Scenes, is scarce sooner opened and ended, then the fate of divers great men, who in the day-time being exhaled to high sublimity, by the powerful rayes of the *Sultans* favour, in the night fall, or vanish like a Meteor. The reason hereof, if duly considered, may be of great use as things stand here, that is, to the power of the Grand Signior; for in this constitution the health and benefit of the Emperour is consulted before the welfare of the people: And the power of the Emperour is in no action more exercised and evidenced, then by withdrawing and conferring his favours; for by these means, having many whom he hath educated and prepared for offices, and stand candidates to receive them, his power would seem to be at a *Nonplus*, and appear like an inconsiderate Father, who had spent more money in the breeding of his Sons, then the Patrimony amounted to he had to bestow upon them: and therefore the Grand Signior to imitate the Sun, benights some parts of the world to enlighten others, that so by a general influence and communication of his beams, he may be acknowledged the common Parent of them all.

And this course doth not only evidence the power of the Grand Signior, but likewise encreases it; for none are advanced in these times to office, but pay the Grand Signior vast summs of money for it, according to the riches and expectations of profit from the charge; some pay, as the *Pashas* of Grand *Cairo* and *Babylon*, 3 or 4 hundred thousand Dollars upon passing the Commission; others one, others two hundred thousand, some fifty thousand, as their places are more or less considerable: and this money is most commonly taken up at Interest, at 40 or 50 *per cent.* for the year, and sometimes at double, when they are constrained to become debtors to the covetous Eunuchs of the *Seraaglio*; so that every one upon his first entrance into office looks on himself (as indeed he is) greatly indebted and obliged by justice or injustice, right or wrong, speedily to disburthen himself of the debts, and improve his own principal in the world; and this design must not be long in performance, lest the hasty edict overtake him before his work is done, and call him to account for the improvement of his Talent. Think then (taking all circumstances together of the covetous dispositi-

on of a *Turk*, the cruelty and narrowness of soul in those men commonly that are born and educated in want) what oppression, what rapine and violence must be exercised to satisfy the appetite of these men, who come famished with immense desires, and strange considerations to satisfy! *Din sordidus repente dives mutationem fortune male regit, accensis ægestate longa cupidinibus immoderatus*, Tac. lib. 1. Hist. So that Justice in its common course is set to sale, and it is very rare when any Law-suit is in hand, but bargains are made for the sentence, and he hath most right who hath most money to make him *rectus in Caria*, and advance his cause. And it is the common course for both parties at difference, before they appear together in presence of the Judge, to apply themselves singly to him, and try whose donative and present hath the most in it of temptation; and it is no wonder if corrupt men exercise this kind of Trade in Traffiquing with Justice; for having before bought the Office, of consequence they must sell the Fruit.

Vendere jure potest, emerat ille prius.

Busbeq; Ep. 4.
de Leg Tur.

Add here unto a strange kind of facility in the *Turks*, for a trifle or small hire to give false witness in any case, especially, and that with a word, when the controversy happens between a Christian and a *Turk*; and then the pretence is for the *Mussulmanleek* as they call it, the cause is religious, hallows all falseness and forgery in the testimony; so that I believe in no part of the world can Justice run more out of the current and stream than in *Turky*, where such Maxims and considerations corrupt both the Judge and Witnesses. *Turca magna pietatis loco ducunt dicere falsum testimonium adversus hominem Christianum; non expectant ut rogentur; injussi adsunt seque ultro ingerunt.*

This consideration and practice made an *English* Embassadour upon renewing the Capitulations, to insert an Article of caution against the testimony of *Turks*, as never to be admitted nor pleaded in any Court of *Turkish* Justice, against the *English* interest; and nothing to be admitted as evidence in that case, but only a *Hoget*, which is in the nature of a Recognisance made before a Judge, or a Bill or Writing under the hand of him on whom the demand is made; which Article as it was very advisedly, and with great Prudence and Wisdom obtained, so it hath proved of admirable consequence and security to the Traffick and Merchants Estates, which before being lyable to the Forgeries and false pretences of every dissolute *Turk*, have now this point as a defence and fortification, by which false pretences and suits for considerable sums of money, and matters of great value have been blown away, and decided with great facility and little expence.

Turkish History
in the reign
of Bajazet the
fourth King of
the *Turks*.

In the time of *Bajazet*, the fourth King of the *Turks*, the Courts of Justice were in like manner corrupted, as at present; for reformation of which the Prince resolved to execute a great number of the Lawyers, until it was pleasantly represented by his Jester (to whom between jest and earnest he had given liberty to speak the truth, which soberer men durst not) that all the cause of bribery and corruption in the Judges, proceeded for want of stipends and necessary maintenance; whereupon *Bajazet* growing cooler, sensible of the cause of that evil, applied a remedy, by granting their pardon, and allowing them salaries and stipends, with additional Fees of twenty Aspers, in all causes exceeding a thousand; and twelve Aspers for every writing and instrument out of

Court.

Court. And in times of the best Emperours, when vertue and deserts were considered, and the Empire flourished and encreased, men had offices conferred for their merits, and good services were rewarded freely and with bounty, without sums of money and payments to be a foyl to the lustre of their better parts: But now it is quite contrary, and all matters run out of courle; a manifest token in my opinion of the declension and decay of the Ottoman Empire, as *Livy* saith; *Omnia prospera sequentibus Deos, adversa autem spernentibus*. How soever in part this serves the great end of the Empire; for *Pashaws* and great men having a kind of a necessity upon them to oppress their subjects, the people thereby lose their courages; and by continual Taxes and seitures on what they gain, poverty subdues their spirits, and makes them more patiently suffer all kind of injustice and violence that can be offered them, without thoughts or motion to Rebellion; and so the Lord *Verulam* sayes in his *Essays*, that it is impossible for a people overladen with Taxes, ever to become Martial or Valiant; for no Nation can be the Lyons Whelp, and the Ass between burthens: by which means the *Turk* preserves so many different sort of people as he hath conquered in due obedience, using no other help then a severe hand joyned to all kind of oppression; but such as are *Turks*, and bear any name of office or degree in the service of the Empire, feel but part of this oppression, and live with all freedom, having their spirits raised by a license they attain to insult over others that dare not resist them.

Essay 29.

But the issue and conclusion of the spoils these great men make on subjects is very remarkable; for as if God were pleased to evidence his just punishment more evidently and plainly here, then in other sins; scarce any of all those *Pashaws* who have made haste to be rich, have escaped the Grand Signiors hands, but he either wholly devests them of all, or will share the best part of the prey with them. Amongst which I have observed none passes so hardly as the *Pashaws* of Grand *Cairo*, because it is the richest and most powerful of all the Governments of this Empire; and so either in his journey home, or after his return, he loses his life by publick command, or at least is rifled of his goods as ill-got, which are condemned to the Grand Signiors treasury: And it is strange to see yet with what heat these men labour to amass riches, which they know by often experiences have proved but collections for their Master; and only the Odium and Curses which the oppressed wretches have vented against their Rapine, remain to themselves; *rebus secundis avidi, adversis autem incanti, Tac.* And this is like the policy that *Cesar Borgia* used, otherwise called *il Duca Valentine*, who the better to reduce *Romagna*, lately subdued to obedience, made one *Messer Romiro d' Orco* his Deputy, a man of a cruel and tyrannical disposition, who by rigour and force reduced affairs to the will and order of his Prince: and the work now done, and the people remaining extraordinarily discontented, the Duke thought it time to purge the minds of his people of the ill apprehension they had of his Government, by demonstrating that the former hard usage proceeded from the bad inclination of his Minister; commanded the same *Romiro d' Orco* at *Cesenna*, to be cut in pieces, and exposed to the publick view of the people, with a piece of wood, and a bloody knife by his side. This

saith

saith *Machiavel*, lib. del Principe, cap. 7. *fecerunt aquelli popoli in un tempo remanere stupidi & sordidissimi*; and the *Turk* understands well how profitable in the same manner it is for the constitution of his Estate, to use evil instruments, who may oppress and poll his people, intending afterwards for himself the whole harvest of their labours; they remaining with the hatred, whilst the Prince under colour of performing justice, procures both riches and fame together.

If it be suspected that any great man intends to make combustion or mutiny in his Government, or that his wealth or natural abilities render him formidable; without farther inquisition or scrutiny, all discontent of the Grand Signior is dissembled, and perhaps a Horse, or Sword, or Sables-vest is reported to be presented, and all fair treatment is counterfeited, until the Executioner gets the bow-string about his neck, and then they care not how rudely they deal with him: just like the Birds in *Plutarch*, who beat the Cuckow for fear that in time he should become a Hawk.

Lib. 6. *Apoth.*

And to make more room for the multitude of officers who crowd for Preferments, and to act the cruel Edicts of the Empire with the least noise; oftentimes when a great Personage is removed from his place of Trust, and sent with a new Commission to the charge perhaps of a greater Government; and though he depart from the Regal Seat with all fair demonstrations of favour, before he hath advanced three dayes in his journey, triumphing in the multitude of his Servants, and his late hopes, the fatal command overtakes him; and without any accusation or cause other then the will of the *Sultan*, he is barbarously put to death, and his body thrown into the dirt of a Forreign and unknown Country, without solemnity of Funeral or Monument; that he is no sooner in the Grave, then his Memory is forgotten. And this methinks is somewhat agreeable to the crafty policy of *Tiberius*, who sometimes would Commissionate men for Government of Provinces, to whom before-hand he had designed not to permit license to depart the City; *Postremo eò provectus est, ut mandaverit quibusdam provincias quos egredi urbe non erat passurus.*

Hence are apparent the causes of the decay of Arts amongst the *Turks*, of the neglect, want of care in manuring and cultivating their Lands; why their Houses and private Buildings are made slight, not durable for more then ten or twenty years; why you find no delightful Orchards and pleasant Gardens and Plantations; and why in those Countries where Nature hath contributed so much on her part, there are no additional labours of Art to complete all, and turn it to a Paradise; for men knowing no certain heir, nor who shall succeed them in their labours, contrive only for a few years enjoyment. And moreover, men are fearful of shewing too much ostentation or magnificence in their Palaces, or ingenuity in the pleasures of their Gardens, lest they should bring on them the same fate, that *Nabals* Vineyard occasioned to his Master: and therefore men neglect all application to the Studies of Arts and Sciences, but only such as are necessary and conducing to the meer course of living; for the very fear and crime of being known to be rich, makes them appear outwardly poor, and become naturally Stoicks and Philosophers in all the points of a reserved and cautious life. And here I am at a stand, and cannot conclude this

Chapter

Chapter without contemplating a while, and pleasing my self with the thoughts of the blessedness, the happiness, the liberty of my own Country; where men under the protection and safe influence of a gracious and the best of Princes in the world, enjoy and eat of the fruit of their own labour, and purchase to themselves with security Fields and Mannors, and dare acknowledge and glory in their Wealth and Pomp, and yet leave the inheritance to their Posterity.

CHAP. XVIII.

The several Arts the Turks use to encrease their People, is a principal Policy, without which the greatness of their Empire cannot continue nor be encreased.

There was never any people that laid Foundations and Designs of a great Empire, but first thought how to make it populous, and by which means they might best supply them with people, not only sufficient for the sacrifice and slaughter of the War, but for the Plantation of Colonies, Possession and security of what the Sword hath conquered. We never understood how one people alone that was Martial, and by successes in War had framed a large Empire, was able from the meer original of its own Stock, to abound with issue of natural Subjects, to bear proportion with the stronger Nations; nor how a handful of people with the greatest policy and courage in the world was able to embrace a large extent of Dominion and Empire: It is true, that *Alexander* did with an Army, for the most part, composed of *Macedonians*, as it were in a rank make a Conquest of the best part of the Eastern world; but this Empire, like a Ship that had much Sail and no Ballast, or a fair Tree over-charged with boughs too heavy for its Stem, became a windfal on a sudden.

The *Turks* therefore, during the continuance of their Empire, have not been ignorant of this Truth; for no people in the world have ever been more open to receive all sorts of Nations to them, then they, nor have used more arts to encrease the number of those that are called *Turks*; and it is strange to consider, that from all parts of the world, some of the most dissolute and desperate in wickedness, should flock to these Dominions, to become members and professors of the *Mahometan* superstition; in that manner that at present, the blood of the *Turks* is so mixed with that of all sorts of Languages and Nations, that none of them can derive his lineage from the ancient blood of the *Saracens*.

The *Romans* who well knew the benefit of receiving strangers into their bosome, called this freedom they gave *Jus civitatis*, whereby Foreigners became as lawful possessors of Estates and Inheritance, and had as much right to the common priviledges, as any that was born in the Walls of *Rome*; and this *Jus civitatis* was given to whole Families; so that as *Sir F. B.* says well, that the *Romans* did not over-spread the World, but the World it self. The *English* call it Naturalization, the *French* Enfranchisement; and the *Turks* call it becoming a Believer; for

Essays.

for they joyning with it a point of Religion, not only the proffers of the goods of this world, but also of delights in the world to come, make the allurements and arguments the more prevalent; and it being an opinion amongst them, as over all the world, that it is a meritorious work to create Profelytes, scarce any who hath money to purchase a slave, but will procure one young and fit for any impresson, whom he may name his Convert, and gain reputation amongst his neighbours of having added to the number of the faithful: Of all this number, which yearly are added to the Professors of *Mahomet*, none can retreat on lower terms then Death and Martyrdom for Christ; which causes many whose consciences, though touched with a sense of the denial of their Saviour, yet having not the grace or courage to assert their faith on so hard a Lesson, grow desperate or careless, and dye in their sin. This sort of people become really *Turks*, and some through custom and their own lusts, are really perswaded of the truth of this profession, and have proved more inveterate and fatal enemies to Christianity, then the natural *Turks*; which will appear, if we consider that all the successes they have had, and exploits they have done at Sea, have been performed by such who have denyed the Christian Faith, as namely *Chigal*, *Ogli*, and others.

It was the custom formerly amongst the *Turks*, every five years to take away the Christians Children, and Educate them in the *Mahometan* superstition; by which means they encreased their own people, and diminished and enfeebled the force of the Christians; but now that custom in a great part is grown out of use, through the abundance of *Greeks*, *Armenians*, *Jews*, and all Nations where the Iron Rod of the *Turks* Tyranny extends, who flock in to enjoy the imaginary honour and privilege of a *Turk*. And indeed it is no wonder to humane reason, that considers the oppression and contempt that poor Christians are exposed to, and the ignorance in their Churches, occasioned through poverty in the Clergy, that many should be found who retreat from the Faith; but it is rather a Miracle, and a true verification of those words of Christ, *That the Gates of Hell shall not be able to prevail against his Church*, that there is conserved still amidst so much opposition, and in despite of all Tyranny and Arts contrived against it, an open and publick Profession of the Christian Faith; which next to Gods Providence, considering the stupid ignorance in the *Greek* and *Armenian* Churches, the conservation of their Faith is not to be attributed to any instance more, then to the strict observation of the Feasts and Fasts of their Churches; for having rarely the helps of Catechism or Sermons, they learn yet from these outward Ceremonies some confused Notions and Precepts of Religion, and exercise with severity and rigour this sort of Devotion, when through custom, confusion and scarcity of knowing guides, all other service is become obsolete and forgotten amongst them.

The *Turks* have another extraordinary supply of people from the Black Sea, sent them in by the *Tartars*, who with their light bodies of Horse make incursions into the Territories of the neighbouring Christians, and carry with them a booty of whole Cities and Countries of people, most of which they send to *Constantinople* to be so sold, and is the chief Trade and Commodity of their Country (as we have already discoursed.)

discourged.) It is sad to see what numbers of *Saykes*, or *Turkish* Vessels, come sailing through the *Bosphorus*, freighted with poor Christian Captives of both Sexes, and all Ages, carrying on the Main-top a Flag, either as a Note of Triumph, or else as a Mark of the Ware and Merchandise they carry. The number of the Slaves brought yearly to *Constantinople* is uncertain; for sometimes it is more, and sometimes less, according to the Wars and success of the *Tartars*; but as it is apparent in the Registers of the customs at *Constantinople* only, one year with another at the least 20000 are yearly imported; amongst which the greatest part being Women and Children, with easie perswasions, and fair promises become *Turks*; the men being ignorant, and generally of the *Russian* or *Moscovite* Nation (who are reported not to be over-devout, or of famed constancy and perseverance in Religion) partly by menaces and fear, partly by good words and allurements of reward, despairing of liberty, and return to their own Country, renounce all interest in the Christian Faith. Of this sort of Metal most of the *Turks* are in these days composed, and by the fecundity of this generation, the Dominions of this Empire flow; for the *Turks* of themselves, though they have the liberty of *Polygamy*, and freer use of divers Women allowed them by their Law, then the severity of Christian Religion doth permit, are yet observed to be less fruitful in Children, then those who confine themselves to the chaste embraces of one Wife. It is true, we have heard how in former times there have been particular men amongst the *Turks*, that have severally been Fathers to a hundred Sons; but now through that abominable vice of *Sodomie*, which the *Turks* pretend to have learned from the *Italians*, and is now the common and professed shame of that people, few fecundious Families are found amongst them; especially amongst the Persons of the greater Quality, who have means and time to act and contrive their filthiness with the most deformity. And in this manner, the natural use of the Women being neglected amongst them, and as *St. Paul* saith, *Men burning in lust one towards another*; so little is mankind propagated, that many think, were it not for the abundant supplies of Slaves, which daily come from the Black Sea (as before we have declared) considering the Summer-slaughters of the Plague, and destructions of War, the *Turk* would have little cause to boast of the vast numbers of his people: and that a principal means to begin the ruine of this Empire, were to prevent the taking of so many Captives, or intercept those numbers of Slaves, which are daily transported to nourish and feed the body of this great *Babylon*; by which means in time they would not only find a want of Servants, but a decay and scarcity of Masters; since as it is before mentioned, these Slaves becoming *Turks*, are capable of all priviledges, and being commonly Manumised by their Patrons, through the help of Fortune, arrive equally to Preferments with those who are of the ancient *Mahometan* Race: this is the true reason, the *Turk* can spend so many people in his Wars, and values not the lives of ten thousand men to win him but a span of ground, and yet almost without any sensible diminution of his people; and on the contrary, the invention of an Inquisition, and the distinction between *Christianos viejos*, and *Nuevos* in *Spain* and *Portugal*, have caused that decay and scarcity of people in those Countries, as hath laid the best part of those fruitful Soyls

M

desolate,

desolate, and forced them both to a necessity of entertaining a mercenary Souldiery.

It is no small inducement to the vulgar people, who is most commonly won with outward allurements, to become *Turks*; that when they are so, by a white Turbant, or such a particular Note of honour, they shall be distinguished from other like Sects (all people amongst the *Turks*, being known by their heads, of what Religion or Quality they are) and so may the better be directed where they may have a privilege to domineer and injure with the most impunity. If we consider how delightful the Mode is in *England* and *France*, especially to those that are of a vain and gay humor, and that nothing seems handsome or comely, but what is dressed in the fashion and air of the times; we shall not wonder, if the ignorant and vain amongst Christians, born and Educated in those Countries, should be caught and entrapt with the fancy and enticement of the *Turkish* Mode, and be contented to despoil themselves of the garment of Christian virtues, to assume a dress more Courtly and pleasing to the eyes of the world; for so the *Britains*, and other Nations, after Conquered by the *Romans*, began to delight themselves in their Language and Habit, their Banquets and Buildings, which they accounted to be humanity and refinement of their manners; but *Tacitus* saith, *Pars servitutis erat*, a signal symptom of their subjection.

And it is worth a Wisemans observation, how gladly the *Greeks* and *Armenian* Christians imitate the *Turkish* Habit, and come as neer to it as they dare; and how proud they are, when they are privileged upon some extraordinary occasion to appear without their Christian distinction. And thus the *Turk* makes his very Habit a bait to draw some to his Superstition; Riches, to allure the covetous; rewards and hopes, to rule the ambitious; fears and terrours of death, the cowardly and timorous; and by all means works on the dispositions and humours of men, to make additions to his Kingdom: Such as adhere to the Christian Faith, the *Turk* makes no account of, and values no otherwise in the place of Subjects, then a man doth of his Ox or Ass, meerly to carry the burthens, and to be useful in servile and slavish Offices: they are oppressed, and are subject to all advantages and pretences; and their Goods and Estates gained with labour, and the sweat of their brows, liable to the Rapine of every great man; they are disarmed, and never exercised in War, by which means they become Effeminate, and less dangerous in Rebellion: only the people of *Transylvania*, *Moldavia* and *Valachia*, under the conduct of their respective Princes that the Grand Signior sets over them, serve him in their persons in the War; and are the first thrust forward in all desperate enterprises; so that the oppression of the poor Christians under the *Turk*, is worthy our compassion, how poor they are become, how their former wealth is exhausted, how the fatness of their rich soil is drained, and made barren by poisonous suckers; so that it is evident that the *Turks* design is no other, then by impoverishment and enfeebling the interest of Christianity, to draw Profelytes and strength to his own Kingdom.

Wherefore some sort of poor Christians, either actually Subjects to the *Turkish* Tyranny, or borderers on them, who often feel the misery of their incursions, being fearful of their own constancy in the faith, have

have contrived ways to preserve themselves from any other profession: wherefore in *Mengrelia*, the Christians at the Baptism of their Children make a cross on their hands; and in *Servia* their custom is to make it on their foreheads, with the juyce of a certain Herb, the stait of which never wears out; so that some of these Nations, who become Renegadoes to the Christian Faith, bear always a badge and note of designation about them to a holy profession, which may serve to upbraid their perfidious desertion of the faith; the cross on their forehead appearing for a shame and discountenance to the white Turbant on their heads. By which pious art, many of these distressed Christians have notwithstanding fear and despair of liberty, and promises of reward, through the apprehension of this incongruity between the Cross and the banner of *Mahomet*, preserved themselves firm to their first colours.

CHAP. XIX.

The manner of Reception of Forreign Embassadours amongst the Turks, and the esteem they have of them.

There was no Nation in the World ever so barbarous, that did not acknowledge the Office of an Embassadour sacred and necessary.

Sanctum populi per sæcula nomen;

And *Cicero* saith, *Sic enim sentio jus legatorum cum hominum presidio De Harusp. munus, tum etiam divino jure esse vallatum;* the *Alchoran* it self calls *responsis.*

this Office inviolable; and it is a Turkish Canon, *Elchi zaval joketer*, Do no hurt to an Embassadour; so that the *Turks* do confess themselves obliged by their own law to rules of civilities, courteous treatment, and protection of Embassadours. The greatest honour they show to any forreign Minister, is to him who comes from the Emperour, because his confines are contiguous with theirs, and have had occasion more frequently, then with other Christian Princes, to try the power of the Imperial Sword. An Embassadour coming from the Emperour, as soon as he enters within the *Ottoman* Dominions, hath his charges defrayed by the *Sultan*, according to the importance of the business and negotiation he is designed to, until the time of his return; and a Resident continuing in ordinary, hath in like manner his constant allowance. As it hath always been a custom amongst the Eastern Princes to send presents each to other, as tokens of friendship and amity; so the Emperour is by an ancient custom and agreement obliged to accompany his Embassadour to this Court with presents and gifts, as offerings of peace: and on the contrary, that the Emperour may not remain with the disadvantage, the Grand Signior is bound to recompence the Embassy with another from himself, and adorn it with presents of equal value with those that were sent him. But Embassadours and Representatives from other Princes, who have their Dominions more remote, and whose principal design is esteemed for the promotion of Trade and Commerce, as the *English*, *French*, and *Dutch*, are always admitted with their presents, which the *Turk* by custom calls his right, and judges not himself obliged to return the

like, esteeming his Capitulations and Articles he makes with those Princes, privileges and immunities granted their subjects.

The ceremonies they use at the audience of every Embassadour are set (as in all parts of the world) most to set off the glory of the Empire; and represented with such advantages, as may best afford a Theme for an Embassadours pen to describe the riches, magnificence and terour of the *Ottoman* power. The Audience with the Grand Signior (having first passed a complement with the Prime Visier) is commonly contrived on days appointed for payment of the *Janizaries*, which is every three moneths; and with that occasion, the Order and Discipline of the Militia, the Money and Stipends that are issued forth, are there exposed to the observation of the publick Minister. The money is brought into the *Divan*, and there piled in heaps, where the Embassadour is first introduced, and seated on a Stool covered with Crimson-Velvet, placed near the first Visier, and other Visiers of the Bench: as soon as the money is paid out of the chief of every *Oda* or Chamber, who afterwards distribute it amongst their Souldiers, a plentiful dinner is prepared for the Embassadour, who together with the first Visier, and other Visiers of the Bench, and *Tesdar* or Lord Treasurer, are seated at the same Table, which is not raised as high as the Tables we use, but something lower, covered over with a capacious Voyder of Silver, in which the dishes are set, without ceremony of Table-cloth or Knives. In the same room are two other Tables for the principal attendants of the Embassadour, and other personages amongst the *Turks* of chief note and quality; the dishes are served in by one at a time, which as soon as touched or tasted, are taken off to make room for another; and thus there is a succession of threescore or fourscore Services, all the dishes being of *China*, worth about 150 Dollars a piece; which are reported to have a virtue contrary to poison, and to break with the least infusion thereof, and for that reason esteemed more useful for the service of the Grand Signior.

*Nam nulla aconita bibuntur
Fidiliter, &c. Juvenal.*

The audience
of Embassa-
dours.

The banquet being ended, the *Chambashee*, or chief of the Purfivants conducts the Embassadour, with some of his retinue, to a place apart, where several gay Vests, or long Garments, made of Silk with divers figures, are presented them (as a sign of the Grand Signiors favour) which the Embassadour first putting on, and then the others, to the number of 18 or 19, attended with two *Capagiboshees*, or chief of the Porters, persons of good esteem in that Court, with silver staves in their hands, he is conducted neerer towards the Grand Signiors presence; then follow the presents brought by the Embassadour, which are carried to the best advantage for appearance, and are delivered to Officers appointed to receive them. The Courts without are filled with *Janizaries*, amongst whom is observed so profound a silence, that there is not the least noise or whisper understood; and the salutations they give their principal Officers as they pass, bowing altogether at the same time, is war-like, and yet courtly, and favours of good Discipline and Obedience.

The

The Embassadour is then brought to a great gate neer the Audience, the Porch of which is filled with white Eunuchs, clothed in Silks and Cloth of Gold; farther then this, none is suffered to proceed, besides the Secretary, Interpreter, and some other persons of best quality: at the door of the Chamber of Audience is a deep silence, and the murmuring of a Fountain neer by, adds to the melancholy; and no other guard is there but a white Eunuch: and here a pause is made, and they tread softly in token of fear and reverence, so as not to disturb with the least noise the Majesty of the *Sultan*: for access to the Eastern Princes was always difficult, and not permitted with the same familiarity as hath been practised amongst the *Romans*, and at present with us, where the sight of the King is his own glory, and the satisfaction of his Subjects: For it is with the *Turks*, as it was with the *Parthians*, when they received *Vonones* their King, educated in the *Roman* Court, who conforming to those manners, saith *Tacitus*, *irridebantur Græci Comites, prompti aditus, obvia comitas, ignotæ Parthis virtutes*; Lib. 2. Ann. the affability and easiness of address to their Prince, was a scandal to that Nation. At the entrance of the Chamber of Audience hangs a ball of Gold, studded with pretious Stones, and about it great chains of rich Pearl; the Floor is covered with Carpets of Crimson-velvet, embroidered with Gold wyre, in many places beset with seed Pearl. The Throne where the Grand Signior sits, is raised a small height from the ground, supported with four Pillars plated with Gold: the roof is richly gilded, from which hang balls, that seem to be of Gold: the Cushions he leaned upon, as also those which lay by, were richly embroidered with Gold and Jewels: In this Chamber with this occasion remains no other attendance besides the first Visier, who stands at the right hand of the Grand Signior with modesty and reverence. When the Embassadour comes to appear before the Grand Signior, he is led in, and supported under the arms by the two *Capugibashies* before mentioned; who bringing him to a convenient distance, laying their hands upon his neck, make him bow until his forehead almost touches the ground, and then raising him again, retire backwards to the farther parts of the room; the like ceremony is used with all the others, who attend the Embassadour; only that they make them bow somewhat lower then him; the reason of this custom, as *Busebequius* saith, was, because that a *Croat* being admitted neer to *Amurath*, to communicate something to him, made use of that opportunity to kill him, in revenge of the death of his Master *Marous*; but the *Turkish* History saith, that this was done by one *Miles Corbelitz*, who after the defeat given *Lazarus* the Despot of *Servia*, rising from amongst the dead, had neer access to the presence of *Amurath*. The Embassadour at this Audience hath no chair set him, but standing, informs the Grand Signior by his Interpreter, the several demands of his Master; and the business he comes upon, which is all penned first in writing; which when read, is with the Letter of credence consigned into the hands of the great Visier, from whom the answer and farther treaty is to be received.

This was the manner of the Audience given the Earl of *Winchelsea*, when Embassadour there for his Majesty, and is (as is there said) the form used to others, who come from a Prince equally honoured, and respected. But though the *Turks* make these outward demonstrations

of all due reverence and religious care to preserve the persons of Embassadors sacred and free from violence; yet it is apparent by their treatment and usage towards them, in all emergencies and differences between the Prince they come from, and themselves, that they have no esteem of the Law of Nations, or place any Religion in the maintenance of their Faith. For when a War is proclaimed, the Embassador immediately is either committed to close imprisonment, or at least to the custody of a careful guard, confined within the limits of his own house: in this manner, the Representative of *Venice*, called there the *Bailo*, by name *Sorenzo*, in a streight Chamber of a Castle situated on the *Bosphorus*, endured a severe imprisonment, having his Interpreter strangled, for no other cause then performing his office in the true interpretation of his Masters sence: afterwards this *Bailo* (for so they call there the Embassadors from *Venice*) was removed to another prison at *Adrianople*, where he continued some years; and in fine, by force of presents mollifying the *Turks* with mony (with which their nature is easily made gentle and pliable) he obtained liberty to remain in the house appropriated to the Representatives of *Venice*, but under a guard, whose office was to secure him from escape, and observe his actions; and yet with liberality and presents, which overcome the *Turks* more then any consideration in the world, he enjoyed as he pleased, license for his health to take the fresh air, and use what freedom was reasonable.

Nor less injurious to the Law of Nations, have been the examples of violence and rage, acted on the persons of the French Embassadors; first on the *Sieur Sensi*, accused upon suspicion of having contrived the escape of *Konisspolski*, General of the *Polish* Army, taken captive in a Fight, and sent Prisoner to the abovesaid Castle on the *Bosphorus*; the means was by a Silken cord sent in a Pye, with Limes and Files to cut the Iron bars; and having first secured his guard with the strength of wine, in the dead of the night, let him down by the cord from the highest Tower, where finding Horses ready, he got safe into *Poland*: the contrivance of this stratagem, and the instruments of the escape, was laid to the charge of the *French* Embassador; who was committed for that reason to the Prison of the seven Towers, where he remained for the space of four months, until his mony, and the *French* King his Master mediated for him, promising to send another speedily to succeed him; he was delivered from his imprisonment, and returned home by the way of *Poland*.

The successor of this Embassador was the Count *Cesi*, a man too generous and splendid to live amongst covetous and craving *Turks*; exhausted most of his wealth in gifts and presents; to which adding a vanity and ambition to court the Grand Signiors Mistresses in the *Seraglio* (as is said) he paid such vast sums of mony to the Eunuchs for his admittance, that in a few years he became so indebted, and importuned with the clamours of his Creditors, as wholly discredited, and lost the Honour and Authority of his Embassy; so that the *French* King thinking it dishonourable to continue his Minister in that charge, who was failed and undone in the reputation of the world, sent his Letter of Revocation to recal him home; but the *Turks* gave a stop to his return, pretending that their Law which was indulgent to the persons

of

of Embassadours, did not yet acquit them from payment of their debts, or privilege them with impunity to rob the Believers and other Subjects of the Grand Signior, contrary to that rule of *Grotius*, who not only exempts the Persons, but the Servants and moveables of Embassadours from attachments; and no Law can compel him to the satisfaction of debts by force, but by friendly perswasion only, till being returned to his own Country, and put off the quality of a publick person, he becomes liable to common process; *Si quid ergo debiti contraxit, & ut fit, res soli eo loco nullas possideat, ipse compellendus erit amice, & si detrectet, is qui misit, ita ut ad postremum usurpentur ea, quæ adversus debitores extra territorium positos usurpari solent.* Grot. lib. de Jure belli & pac.

Nor less remarkable was the barbarous usage of the *Sieur la Haye*, Embassadour also for the French King to the Port, under the Government of the great Visier *Kuperli*. The Court being then at *Adrianople*, and the Treaty in hand between the Grand Signior and the Republick of *Venice*; through the mediation of the French Embassadour, by consent and command of his Master, certain Letters of his wrote in Characters were intercepted by the *Turks*; by what means, and upon what information, the matter was too evident then, to be apprehended other than an *Italian* contrivance: the Cypher, as containing matter prejudicial to the State, was carried to *Adrianople*; and being known by examination and confession of the Messenger, to have been delivered to him by the Secretary of the French affairs; immediately in all haste the Embassadour then at *Constantinople* was cited to appear at Court; but being ancient, and indisposed in his health with the Gout and Stone, dispatched his Son as his Procurator, with instructions and orders how to answer what might be objected; hoping by that means to excuse the inconvenience of a Winters journey.

The Son being there arrived, immediately was called to Audience, accompanied with the Chancellor, or Secretary for the Merchants (for the other Secretary of the private affairs of the Embassie, apprehending the fury and injustice of the *Turks*, had timely secured himself by flight.) Discourse was first had concerning the Contents of the Characters; the *Turks* insolent in their Speeches, provoked this *Sieur la Haye* the younger, to utter something tending towards a contempt of that power the *Turks* had over him, encouraging himself with the thoughts of the protection of the King his Master; who was soon sensible, and moved with the least injuries offered his Ministers. The *Turks*; who can endure nothing less then menaces, and *Kuperlee* through natural cruelty and choler of old age, and particuilar malice against the French Nation, moved with this reply, commanded the *Caombashee*, who is chief of the Pursevents, to strike him in the mouth; which he did with that force, being a rude robustious fellow, that with a few blows of his Fist, he struck out two of his Teeth before, and in a most undecent and barbarous manner dragged him with the Secretary for the Merchants, to a Dungeon so loathsome and moist, that the ill vapours oft-times extinguished the Candle. The old Embassadour the Father, was with like *Turkish* fury sent for, the *Turks* executing all they do with strange haste and violence; *Barbaris contatio servilis, statim exequi regium videtur*; and being arrived at *Adrianople*, was also committed to custody, though not with that rigour and severity of Imprisonment

as the Son, until the space of two Months passing with presents and solicitations, they both obtained their liberty, and returned again to *Constantinople*; where scarce were they arrived, before news coming of a *French Ship*, which had loaden Goods of *Turks*, and run away with his Cargason, the Embassadour was again committed to another Prison in *Constantinople*, called the seven Towers, where he remained, until with Gifts and Money, the anger of the *Turks* was abated. And still the malice of *Kuperlee* persecuted this *Steur la Haye*, until after his Embassie of 25 years continuance, unfortunate only at the conclusion, he was dispatched home obscurely and in disgrace, without Letters of revocation from his Master, or other intimation to the Grand Signior, which might signifie the desire of this Embassadours return.

The reason of this irreverent carriage in the *Turks* towards the persons of Embassadours, contrary to the custom of the ancient *Romans*, and other gallant and civilized people, is an apprehension and Maxime they have received, that an Embassadour is indued with two qualifications; one of representing to the Grand Signior the desires of his Prince, the breach of Articles or League, the aggrievances and abuses of Merchants trading in his Dominions; that so satisfaction and amendment may be made: And the other, that he remains in nature of a Hostage, called by themselves *Mahapous* or pledge, by which he becomes responsible for what is acted by his Prince contrary to the Capitulations of Peace, and remains for a pawn for the faithful and sincere carriage of his Nation, and as security to insure what goods belonging to *Turks* are loaden on their Vessels. As the Resident for *Holland* was in the year 1663, imprisoned at *Adrianople* for miscarriages of a Ship belonging to his Nation, taken by *Maltese* men of War, whereon at *Alexandria* were goods loaden belonging to the Grand Signior, and other considerable persons of State, and was not released, until he engaged to eighty five thousand Dollars, in the space of one hundred and twenty days, which was the full import of the *Turkish* interest.

1663.

Nor hath this Law of Nations, to the sacred esteem of Embassadours, found better observation towards the Representatives of the *German* Emperour, who have upon all conjunctures of Discord and Breaches of Peace between those two powerful Princes, been subject to confinements and custody of a Guard, nothing differing from formal imprisonment; or else, as it happened to the *German* Resident in the last War, are transported from place to place, according to the motion of the Armies, as a barbarous Trophy in the time of their prosperous successes, and as a means at hand to reconcile and mediate when evil Fortune compells them to composition.

What ill fate soever hath attended the Ministers of other Princes in this Court, the Embassadours from His Majesty of Great *Britain*, our Sacred King, have never incurred this dishonour and violation of their Office; the negotiations and differences since the *English* Trade hath been opened in *Turkie*, have been various and considerable, and matters as to the security of the Embassadour and Merchants, have been often reduced to a doubtful condition, as far as words and rude speeches full of menaces and choler, might make a sober man suspicious of a greater ruine: And yet through the constancy, prudence and good fortune of Embassadours, the *Turkish* rashness hath not drawn upon

them.

themselves the guilt of violating their persons, but have either prevented troubles in the beginning, or wisely compounded them before they made too far a breach.

It is worth observation, that the *Turks* make no difference in the name between an Embassadour, Resident, Agent, or any petty Messenger sent or residing upon a publick Affair; the name *Elchi*, serves them to express all: and though the *Turks* on occasion of Ruptures and other Discontents lose their respect towards the person of Embassadours; yet still it is commendable in them, that they commonly abstain from the spoil and plunder of the Merchants estates, with whose Prince they are at enmity; for they look on Merchants as men, whose profession is best advanced by Peace; and as their own comparison is, like to the laborious Bee which brings Honey to the Hive, and is innocent, industrious and profitable; and therefore an object of their compassion and defence.

CHAP. XX.

How Embassadours and publick Ministers govern themselves in their Negotiations and Residence amongst the Turks.

Embassadours in this Country have need both of courage and circumspection, wisdom to dissemble with honour, and discreet patience, seemingly to take no notice of Affronts and Contempts, from which this uncivilized people cannot temperate their Tongues, even when they would seem to put on the most courteous deportment and respect towards Christians. The *French* Embassadour, *Monsieur la Haye*, sent once to advise the great Visier *Kuperlee*, that his Master had taken the strong City of *Arras* from the *Spaniard*, and had obtained other Victories in *Flanders*, supposing that the *Turk* would outwardly have evidenced some signs of joy, and return an answer of congratulation; but the reply the Visier gave, was no other then this (What matters it to me whether the Dog worries the Hog, or the Hog the Dog, so my Masters head be but safe?) intimating that he had no other esteem of Christians, then as Savages or Beasts; and with no other answer then this, due to an officious Courtship towards a *Turk*, the Messenger returned. There is no doubt, but of all those means, wherewith Kingdoms and States are supported, there are two more principal and chief of all others: The one is the substantial and real strength and force of the Prince, which consists in his Armies and interest; and the other is the honour and reputation he gains abroad, which hath sometimes proved of that Authority and consequence, as to make the State of the weaker Prince to appear more considerable; or at least, equal to the greater forces of the other. This reputation is principally maintained by a prudent manner of negotiation, and depends on the discretion of the Representative, in which for many years the Republick of *Venice* had great advantages in the *Turkish* Court, through the caution and policy of their Ministers, who nourished in the *Turks* an opinion of their strength of Arms, and force of Wisdom, beyond the reality thereof; that before the War broke forth, no Na-

tion in amity with the *Turk*, had their affairs treated with more honour and respect than this Common-wealth.

An Embassadour in this Court ought to be circumspect and careful to avoid the occasion of having his honour blemished, or of incurring the least violation of his person; for afterward, as one baffled in his reputation, he becomes scorned, loses his power and interest, and all esteem of his worth and wisdom; for having endured one affront, their insolence soon presumes farther to trespass on his patience: for certainly *Turks* of all Nations in the world, are most apt to crush and trample on those that lye under their feet; as on the contrary, those who have a reputation with them, may make the best and most advantageous treats of any part of the world, according to that of *Burbequius*, Ep. 1. *Sunt Turci in utramq; partem nimis sive indulgentia, cum pro amicis se probare volunt, sive acerbitate cum irati sunt.* To reply according to the Pride and Ignorance of a *Turk*, is properly to blow up fire into a flame; to support with submission and a pusillanimous spirit, his affronts and indignities, by negotiating faintly or coldly, is to add fuel and wood to the burning piles; but solid reason and discourse, accompanied with cheerful expressions, vivacity and courage in argument, is the only manner of dealing and treating with the *Turks*. That which is called good nature or flexible disposition, is of little use to a publick Minister in his treaty with *Turks*: a punctual adherence to former customs and examples even to obstinacy, is the best and safest rule; for the concession of one point serves to embolden them to demand another, and then a third; and so their hopes increase with the success, having no modesty nor wisdom to terminate their desires; one act or two of favour is enough afterwards to introduce a custom (which is the chiefest part of their Law) and to make that which is meerly voluntary, and of grace, to become of obligation. But a principal matter, which a publick Minister ought to look to, is to provide himself of spirited, eloquent and intelligent Interpreters; spirited, I say, because many times the presence is great they appear before, and the looks big and soure of a barbarous Tyrant; and it hath been known, that the Embassadour hath been forced to interpose his own Person, between the fury of the *Visier* and his Interpreter, whose offence was only a delivery of the words of his Master; some of whom have notwithstanding been imprisoned, or executed for this cause, as we have partly intimated in the foregoing Chapter: The reason of which Tyranny and presumption in these prime Officers over the Interpreters, is because they are most commonly born Subjects of the Grand Signior, and therefore ill support the least word mis-placed, or favouring of contest from them, not distinguishing between the sense of the Embassadour, and the explication of the Interpreter; and therefore it were very useful to breed up a Seminary of young Englishmen, of sprightly and ingenious parts, to be qualified for that Office; who may with less danger to themselves, honour to their Master, and advantage to the publick, express boldly without the usual mincing and submission of other Interpreters, whatsoever is commanded and declared by their Master.

It is certainly a good Maxime for an Embassadour in this Country, not to be over-studious in procuring a familiar friendship with *Turks*; a fair comportment towards all in a moderate way, is cheap and secure;
for

for a *Turk* is not capable of real friendship towards a Christian ; and to have him called only ; and thought a friend who is in power, is an expence without profit ; for in great emergencies, and times of necessity, when their assistance is most useful, he must be bought again, and his friendship renewed with presents, and farther expectations : howsoever, this way of negotiation by presents and gratuities, is so much in custom amongst the *Turks*, that to speak truly, scarce any thing can be obtained without it ; but it is the wisdom of the Minister, to dispose and place them with honour, decency, and advantage : For there are, and have been always, two or three powerful persons in this Court, which in all times carry the principal sway, and command of all ; these must necessarily be treated with respect, and often sweetned with gratuities : he that hath money may doubtless make friends when he needs them, and with that secure his capitulation and his privilege, purchase justice, and if his stock will hold out, act any thing that can reasonably be imagined ; yet it is the most profitable and prudent way to refer something to friendship and good correspondence, and not all to the meer force and strength of money.

CHAP. XXI.

How Forreign Princes in particular stand in the esteem and opinion of the Turks.

THe *Turks*, as we have occasionally instanced before, are naturally a proud and insolent people, confident, and conceited of their own vertue, valour, and forces, which proceeds from their ignorance of the strength and constitution of other Countries ; so that when the danger which may arise from the Conjunction and Union of Christian Princes to the *Mahometan* Interest, is discoursed of, they compare the Grand Signior to the Lyon, and other Kings to little Dogs, which may serve (as they say) to rouse and discompose the quiet, and Majesty of the Lyon, but can never bite him, but with their utmost peril. They say farther, as by an ingenuous confession, that they are unable to encounter the Christians at Sea, to whom God hath given that unstable element for Dominion and Possession ; but that the Earth is the lot and inheritance of the *Turks*, which is demonstrable by that great circuit of Empire, obedient to the *Mahometan* Arms. These are the thoughts and apprehensions of the Commonalty concerning Christendom in general (which I have heard often discoursed amongst them) but the opinion and esteem which knowing men and Ministers frame of Forreign Kingdoms and States distinctly, is for the most part according to these following particulars.

Of all the Princes so far remote as *England*, none amongst this people stands in better account than His Majesty of *Great Britain*, not only for the convenience of the Trade, which provides this Empire with many necessary commodities ; but for the fame of his Shipping, and power at Sea, which makes him, though divided from all parts of the world, yet a borderer on every Country, where the Ocean extends : And this esteem and honour the *sultan* bears towards His Majesty,

hath been evidenced in several particulars, and by none more than by the security and freedom his Merchants live in, in these Dominions, and a readines always in every reasonable request, to gratifie His Majesties Embassadors.

As for the Emperour, the *Turk* knows that his own proper and peculiar force in it self, is inconsiderable, but that with the conjunction and assistance of the *German* Princes, they are assured, and have proved it to their experience in the year 1664, that his strength is equivalent to the *Ottoman* power; but yet they are not ignorant, that the diversity of Religions and Sects in *Germany*, abate much of that heat and coalition amongst themselves, which is requisite to the vigorous opposition of so potent an enemy. And it is evident, that the Emperours unseasonable severity against the Protestants in *Hungary*, disobliging his whole Dominion there, by depriving them of their Churches, and exercising other courses for suppression of the reformed Religion, ripened the *Turks* design of War first laid in the year 1663; conceiving that in that conjuncture, holding forth the specious pretence of liberty in Religion and Conscience, the *Hungarians* would either wholly desert the Emperour, or very coldly and faintly apply themselves to his succour; the effect of which was in the succeeding Wars plainly verified, and known that the *Hungarians* were not only sparing in their contribution and supplies of men in the service of the Emperour, but held secret Juntos and Councils, whether it were not better to accept the *Turks* sovereignty, on the conditions proposed, with liberty of their Religion, rather than to continue in Allegiance to the Emperour; who neither afforded them freedom of conscience, which is the destruction of their spiritual estate, nor was able to withstand the *Turk*, which argued insufficiency to yield them protection in their temporal. The Emperour sends his Embassador to the *Turk*, under notion of the King of *Hungary*, because at his instalment as Emperour, he swears to make a perpetual War with the *Turk*; and indeed their peace is little better than a War, considering their frequent incursions into each others Territories; and that to skirmish or fight in bodies under the number of 5000, not taking Forts, or bringing Cannons into the Field, is no breach of the Capitulations.

The French King, though the first Christian Prince, that having no confines bordering on these Dominions, entred into Capitulations with the *Turk* for a free and open Commerce and Traffick; and obtained the Title of *Podeshaw*, which signifies as much as Emperour, and is denied to all other Christian Kings, and even to the *German* Emperour himself, being judged an honour amongst the *Turks* proper and peculiar only to the Grand Signior: yet their esteem of the *French* is not so great as some would perswade the world it is, having (as we have at large declared in the foregoing Chapter) given ample testimonies in the persons of the Embassadors, their scorn and neglect of the Prince he represented. I have heard the wise Lord Chancellour *Samofade* say, that the *French* gained that Title of *Podeshaw* to their King by craft and subtilty, and was never fully examined nor considered; and in that business there is a strange *Romance* told of a fair *French* Lady, preferred to the *Seraglio*, whom the *Turks* were willing to receive for a Princess, and thence challenging affinity with the King of *France*,

was

was the more profuse in the honour of his Titles: It is true, there was a time when the *French* Embassadour was called to secret Councils, and admitted within the Walls of the *Seraglio* to private meetings and debates of the *Turks*; but it was when the *French* plotted, and openly assisted in transportation of the *Turks*, for the invasion of *Italy*; but since that time, and especially in the year 1664, through the force given the Emperour, and the Bravado upon *Barbary*, the *French* hath always (and that not without some reason) gone declining in the good opinion and esteem in the *Ottoman* Court.

The *Pope* is more esteemed, as a Prince able to blow the Coals, and excite other Princes to the damage of the *Mahometan* State, rather than by his own power or force to effect any thing himself; and having no confines bordering on the *Turks*, his riches, power or greatness seldom falls as a subject for their consideration.

As little account would they make of the King of *Spain*, but that the *Grinadin* *Turks*, of which there remains in *Constantinople* a considerable number since their expulsion, through an extream affection naturally inherent in them to *Spain*, discourse of it with a passion, not altogether free of a little *Rodomontado*, and vain-glory, vices incident to their Country; whereby they create in the *Turks* a conceit of the greatness, riches and force of *Spain*, according as it flourished in the time that the *Moor*s possessed their seat and habitation there. But yet the *Turks*, though a people incurious and negligent of the accurate state of other places, besides their own, are not altogether ignorant of the decay of *Spain*, the Wars in *Portugal*, and the menaces from *France*, which makes them aim at one of the *Venetian* Ports in *Dalmatia*, to have the better prospect and easier passage unto *Sicily*, or the Kingdom of *Naples*.

The esteem the *Venetians* are in at this time amongst them, is greater than when the War first began; for then they entertained an opinion of their force much inferiour to the real estimation thereof; as they do now the contrary beyond their true strength, making always calculates from the effect and success of things. Yet the *Turk* knows, that the *Venetian* power is not comparable to his by land, and that nothing but *Friuli* stands between him and the mastery of *Venice*; which makes him ashamed and angry, that after so many years Wars, no greater additions should be acquired to the Empire, than his footing in *Candy*, the whole possession of which was imagined at the beginning of the War, would upon a bare demand been quietly presented as the price and purchase of the peace.

The King of *Poland* is none of the least amongst the Christian Princes esteemed at the *Ottoman* Court, by reason of his great power, consisting chiefly in Horse, which in opinion of the *Turks* is the most warlike; and look on that people as martial, and with much difficulty brought under their subjection. But by reason of the great combustions and intestine troubles of that Country, the *Polanders* apply themselves with much dexterity and caution in their treaties with the *Turks*; and especially, being borderers with them, and subject to their incursions and robberies of Men and Cattel, they endeavour all means of fair and reasonable compliance. And on the other side, the *Turk* is well inclined to the *Polander*, and desires his prosperity beyond others of his

his neighbour-Princes; because he looks on him, as the only curb upon all occasions of the *Moscovites*, and whom they may make use of, to give some stop and arrest unto the progress of his Arms.

The *Moscovite* hath yet a greater fame and renown with the *Turks*, being reported able to make a hundred and fifty thousand Horse; so that he treats with the *Turk* on equal terms, and fills his Letters with high threats and Hyperbolical expressions of his power, and with as swelling Titles as the *Turk*. The *Greeks* have also an inclination to the *Moscovite* beyond any other Christian Prince, as being of their Rites and Religion, terming him their Emperour and Protector; from whom, according to ancient Prophecies and modern predictions, they expect delivery and freedom to their Church. But the greatest dread the *Turk* hath of the *Moscovite*, is from the union with the *Soffi* or *Persian*, which two uniting together, would be too unequal a match for the *Ottoman* Empire.

But above all the great Potentates of the world, the King of *Persia* was most feared and esteemed by the *Turk*, not only by reason of his great force, and that the borders of his Dominions run a long space on the confines of the *Turks*; but because it is almost impossible, by reason of the vast Deserts, and uninhabited places, to carry the War into his Country, without the cumbersome carriages of all necessary provisions, which with how much difficulty and incommodity were performed in the last Wars between these two great Princes, the History sufficiently relates; but since the conquest of *Babylon*, and decay of their riches, they are now the subjects of the Turkish scorn and contempt. The nearness of their Faith, though derived from the same Founder, but afterwards receiving some difference by the interpretation of *Haly*, is in no wise a reconciliation of their affections; but rather a ground and matter of their fear and jealousy, lest at any time waging a War against the *Persian*, that Heresie should begin to be set on foot amongst the people, which like a spark that causes the conflagration of a whole City, may breed those intestine civil distractions, which may prove of more danger and ruine than the former War. It will not be necessary to speak much of the *Hollanders*, in regard, that though they have a Resident there, are scarce taken notice of as a Nation different, but depending on the *English*. And these are all the Nations considerable, with whom the *Turk* hath occasion to treat, or that fall under his cognisance or business.

CHAP. XXX

The regard the Turks have to their Leagues with Foreign Princes.

AS the Christian Religion teaches humility, charity, courtesie, and faith towards all that are within the pale of humane Nature, to be *εὐλαδῆναι καὶ φιλεῖν ἀλλήλους*; so the Turkish superstition furnishes its followers with principles, not only to abhor the Doctrines, but also the persons of such whom they term not Believers. The sordidness of their blood, and ungentleness of their education, makes them insolent and swelled in prosperity;

prosperity; and their Victories and Spoils upon Christians, render the Arms and Force of other parts contemptible in respect of theirs.

Upon these considerations of the vileness of Christianity, and scorn of their power, they assume this into a Maxime, that they ought not to regard the Leagues they have with any Prince, or the reasons and ground of a quarrel; whilst the breach tends to the enlargement of their Empire, which consequently infers the propagation of their Faith. Many and various are the examples and stories in all Ages, since the beginning and increase of the *Turkish* power, of the perfidiousness and treachery of this people; that it may be a question, whether their valour and force hath prevailed more in the time of War, or the little care of their faith and maintenance of their Leagues hath availed them in the time of Peace. Thus *Didymotichum* in the time of Peace, under *Amurath*, third King of the *Turks*, whilst the Walls and Fortifications were Building, was by the *Asian* Labourers, which were entertained in the work, and the help of other *Turks* which lay near in ambush, surprised and taken; so also *Rhodesum* in time of Peace by command of *Amurath*, was by *Eurenos* assaulted and taken by stratagem; so *Adria-*
nople in the reign of the same Emperour, after Peace made again, and assurances given of better faith, was by the art and disguise of *Chasir-Ilbeg*, pretending to be a discontented Captain and a Fugitive from the *Turks*, by fair Speeches and some Actions and Skirmishes abroad, gained such confidence amongst the credulous *Greeks*, as enabled him afterwards to set the Gates open to *Amuraths* Army, which after some Conflict was taken, and never recovered again by the power of the *Greeks*. Now called
Rhodes.

It is an old and practised subtilty of the *Turks*, immediately after some notable Misfortune to entreat of Peace, by which means they may gain time to recollect their Forces and Provisions to prosecute the War. It is notable and worthy of Record, the treachery of the Treaty used in the year 1604. Begun in the time of *Mahomet* the third, and broken off by *Achmat* his Successor. The overtures for a Treaty were first propounded by the *Turks*; and Commissioners from the Emperour appointed, and met the *Turks* at *Buda*; twelve days truce were concluded for consideration of the Articles, and Presents sent by the *Turks* to the Emperour, to perswade him of the reality of their intentions. *Mahomet* dying, *Sultan Achmat* renews his Commission to the *Bassa* of *Buda* to continue the Treaty; whereupon the Christian and *Turk* Commissioners have another Meeting at *Pesth*; where whilst the Christians were courteously Feasting the Infidels in Tents near the Town, and they to create in the Christians an assurance of their faithful dealing, were producing Letters from their *Sultan* and Prime Visier filled with Oaths and Protestations, as by the God of Heaven and Earth, by the Books of *Moses*, by the souls of their Ancestors, and the like, that their intentions for Peace were real, and meant nothing but what was honourable and just: At that very time the *Turks* of *Buda*, conceiving that in the time of this great jollity and confidence, the Walls of *Pesth* were neglected and slightly manned, issued out in great numbers to surprize it; the alarm of which ended the Banquet, and the *Turks* finding matters contrary to their expectation, returned only with the shame of their treachery.

It is no wonder the Disciples should in a point of so great liberty,
and

and advantage follow the example and Doctrine of their Master; for the like *Mahomet* did when overthrown, and repulsed at the siege of *Mecha*, made a firm League with the Inhabitants of strict Peace and Amity: but the next Summer, having again recruited his Forces, easily surprized and took the City, whilst that people relying on the late agreement, suspected nothing less then the Prophets treachery. And that such perfidiousness as this might not be Chronicled in future Ages, in disparagement of his Sanctity; he made it lawful for his Believers, in cases of like nature, when the matter concerned those who were Infidels, and of a different perswasion, neither to regard Promises, Leagues, or other Engagements; and this is read in the Book of the institutions of the *Mahometan* Law, called *Kitab Hadaia*.

It is the usual form and custom, when a noble advantage is espyed on any Country, with which they have not sufficient ground of quarrel, to demand the opinion of the *Musfee*, for the lawfulness of War; who without consulting other consideration and judgment of the reasonable occasions, then the utility of the Empire, in conformity to the foregoing president of his Prophet, passes his *Fetfa* or sentence; by which the War becomes warrantable, and the cause justified and allowed.

It is not to be denied, but even amongst Christian Princes and other the most gallant people of the world, advantages have been taken contrary to Leagues, and Faith, and Wars commenced upon frivolous and slight pretences; and States have never wanted reasons for the breach of Leagues, though confirmed by Oaths and all the Rites of Religious Vows: We know it is controverted in the Schools, whether Faith is to be maintained with Infidels, with Hereticks, and wicked men; which in my opinion were more honourable to be out of question.

But we never read that perfidiousness by Act and Proclamation was allowable, or that it was holy to be faithless, until the Doctors of the *Mahometan* Law, by the example of their Prophet recorded and commanded this Lesson, as a beneficial and useful Axiome to their Disciples.

And here I cannot but wonder at what I have heard and read in some Books of the Honesty and Justice of the *Turks*, extolling and applauding them, as men accomplished with all the virtues of a moral life; thence seeming to infer that Christianity it self imposes none of those engagements of goodness on mens natures, as the Professors of it do imagine. But such men I believe, have neither read the Histories, nor consulted the rules of their Religion, nor practised their conversation; and in all points being ignorant of the truth of the *Turks* dealings, it is not strange, if through a charitable opinion of what they know not, they erre in the apprehension and Character they pass upon them.



OF THE
Turkish Religion.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

Of the Religion of the Turks in general.

THe Civil Laws appertaining to Religion amongst the *Turks* are so confounded into one body, that we can scarce treat of one without the other; for they conceive that the Civil Law came as much from God, being delivered by their Prophet, as that which immediately respects their Religion, and came with the same obligations and injunctions to obedience. And though this Politie was a Fiction of some, who first founded certain Governments, as *Numa Pompilius*, *Solon*, and the like, to put the greater engagements and ties on men, as well of conscience, as through fear of punishment; yet in the general that proposition is true, that all Laws which respect Right and Justice, and are tending to a foundation of good and honest Government, are of God; *For there is no power but of God, and the powers that be, are ordained of God.* And then if God owns the creation and constitution of all Princes and Rulers, as well the Pagans as Christians; the Tyrants, as the indulgent Fathers of their people and Country; no less doth he disallow the Rules and Laws fitted to the constitution and Government of a people, giving no dispensation to their obedience, because their Prince is a Tyrant, or their Laws not founded according to true reason, but the humour of their corrupted judgments or interest.

It is vulgarly known to all, that their Law was compiled by *Mahomet*, with the help of *Sergius* the Monk (and thence this superstition

is named *Mahometanism*) whose infamous life is recorded so particularly in many other Books, that it were too obvious to be repeated here: and therefore we shall insist, and take a view of the Rites, Doctrines and Laws of the *Turkish Religion*, which is founded in three Books, which may not improperly be called the *Codes* and *Pandeſts* of the *Mahometan* constitutions.

The first is the *Alchoran*; the second, the consent or testimony of Wisemen, called the *Aſſonah*, or the traditions of the Prophets; and the third, the inferences or deductions of one thing from another. *Mahomet* wrote the *Alchoran*, and preſcribed ſome Laws for the Civil Government: the other additions or ſuperſtructures were compoſed by their Doctors that ſucceeded, which were *Ebbubecher*, *Omar*, *Ozman* and *Haly*; the *Califfs* of *Babylon* and *Egypt*, were other Doctors and Expoſitors of their Law, whoſe ſentences and poſitions were of Divine Authority amongſt them; but their eſteem of being oraculous failing with their temporal power, that Dignity and Authority of infallible determinations, was by force of the Sword transferred to the *Turkiſh Muſſi*. And though there is great diverſity amongſt the Doctors, as touching the explication of their Law; yet he is eſteemed a true Believer, who obſerves theſe five Articles or Fundamentals of the Law, to which every true *Turk* is obliged. The firſt is, cleanness in the outward parts of their body and garments. Secondly, to make Prayers five times a day. Thirdly, to obſerve the *Ramazan* or Monthly Faſt. Fourthly, to perform faithfully the *Zekāt*, or giving of Alms according to the proportion preſcribed in a certain Book, wrote by the four Doctors of theirs, called *Aſan*, *Embela*, &c. Fifthly, to make their Pilgrimage to *Mecha*, if they have means and poſſibility to perform it. But the Article of Faith required to be believed is but one, *viz.* that there is but one God, and *Mahomet* his Prophet. Other Rites, as Circumciſion, obſervation of *Friday* for a day of Devotion, abſtinence from Swines fleſh, and from bloud, are not reckoned (as they ſay) amongſt the five principal points, becauſe they are enjoyed as tryals and proofs of a mans obedience to the more neceſſary Law.

CHAP. II.

The Toleration that Mahometaniſm in its Infancy promiſed to other Religions; and in what manner that agreement was afterwards obſerved.

WHEN *Mahometaniſm* was firſt weak, and therefore put on a mo-deſt Countenance and plauſible Aſpect to deceive mankind, it found a great part of the World illuminated with Chriſtianity, endued with active Graces, Zeal, and Devotion, and eſtabliſhed within it ſelf with purity of Doctrine, Union, and firm profeſſion of the Faith, though greatly ſhaken by the Hereſies of *Arrins* and *Neflorius*; yet it began to be guarded not only with its patience, long-ſuffering and hope, but alſo with the Fortifications, Arms and Protection of Emperors and Kings: ſo that

that *Mahometanism* coming then on the disadvantage, and having a hard game to play, either by the lustre of graces, and good examples of a strict life to out-shine Christianity; or by a looseness and indulgence to corrupt manners, to pervert men dedicated to Gods service; or by cruelty or menaces to gain those who accounted Martyrdom their greatest glory, and were now also defended by the power of their own Princes; judges it best policy to make proffers of truce and peace between the Christian and its own profession: and therefore in all places where its arms were prevalent and prosperous, proclaimed a free toleration to all Religions; but especially in outward appearance, courted and favoured the Christian, drawing its Tenents and Doctrines in some conformity to that rule, confessing Christ to be a Prophet, and greater then *Moses*, that he was born of a Virgin; that *Mary* conceived by the smell of a Rose; that the blessed Virgin was free from original sin, and the temptations of the Devil; that Christ was the Word of God, and is so styled in the *Alchoran*, and cured diseases, raised the dead, and worked many miracles; and by his power, his Disciples did the like: and I have heard some speak of him with much reverence, and with heat to deny Christs passion; saying, it were an impiety to believe that God who loved, and had conferred so much power, and so many graces on Christ, should so far dishonour him, as to deliver him into the hands of the Jews, who were the worst and most scorned of men; or to the death of the Cross, which was the most infamous and vile of all punishments.

In this manner they seemed to make a league with Christianity, to be charitable, modest, and well wilhers to its professors; and *Mahomet* himself says in his *Alchoran* thus: O infidels, I do not adore what you adore, and you do not adore what I worship; observe you your law, and I will observe mine: And for a farther assurance of his toleration of Christianity, and evidence to the world, that his intention was neither to persecute nor extirpate their Religion; he made this following Compact, the Original of which was found in the Monastery of Fryars on Mount *Carmel*, near Mount *Libanus* (which is within one days journey of *Mecha*, and is the place where the *Mahometan* Pilgrims make their *Corban* or Sacrifice before they enter that City, as we shall hereafter have occasion to speak of more at large) and, as it is said, was transported to the Kings Library in *France*; which because it is ancient, and of curiosity, it will not be impertinent to be inserted here.

Mahomet sent from God to teach mankind, and declare the Divine Commission in truth, wrote these things. That the cause of Christian Religion determined by God, might remain in all parts of the East, and of the West, as well amongst the inhabitants, as strangers; near and remote, known, and unknown; to all these people I leave this present writing, as an inviolable league, as a decision of all farther controversies, and a law whereby justice is declared, and strict observance enjoyed. Therefore, whosoever of the *Moselmans* Faith shall neglect to perform these things, and violate this league, and after the manner of Infidels break it, and transgress what I command, herein, he breaks the Compact of God, resists his agreement, and contemns his Testament, whether he be a King, or any other of the faith-

Moselman signifies a believer, and so the *Turks* call themselves.

full. By this agreement, whereby I have obliged my self, and which
 the Christians have required of me, and in my Name, and in the name
 of all my Disciples, to enter into a Covenant of God with them, and
 League and Testament of the Prophets, Apostles elect, and faith-
 ful Saints, and blessed of times past and to come. By this Covenant,
 I say, and Testament of mine (which I will have maintained with as
 much Religion, as a Prophet Missionary, or as an Angel next to the
 Divine Majesty, is strict in his obedience towards God, and in ob-
 servance to his Law and Covenant) I promise to defend their
 Judges in my Provinces, with my Horse and Foot, Auxiliaries, and
 other my faithful Followers; and to preserve them from their En-
 mies, whether remote or near, and secure them both in peace and
 war: and to protect their Churches, Temples, Oratories, Monaste-
 ries, and places of Pilgrimage, wheresoever scituated, whether in
 Mountain or Valley, Cavern or House, a Plain, or upon the Sand, or
 in what sort of Edifice soever: also to preserve their Religion and
 their goods in what part soever they are, whether at Land or Sea,
 East or West, even as I keep my self and my Scepter, and the faithful
 believers of my own people. Likewise, to receive them into my
 protection from all harm, vexation, offence and hurt. Moreover, to
 repel those enemies which are offensive to them and me, and stoutly
 to oppose them both in my own person, by my servants, and all others
 of my people and Nation. For since I am set over them, I ought to
 preserve and defend them from all adversity, and that no evil touch
 them before it first afflict mine, who labour in the same work. I
 promise farther to free them from those burthens which confederates
 suffer, either by lones of money or impositions; so that they shall be
 obliged to pay nothing but what they please, and no molestation or
 injury shall be offered them herein. A Bishop shall not be removed
 from his Diocess, or a Christian compelled to renounce his faith,
 or a Monk his profession, or a Pilgrim disturbed in his Pilgrimage,
 or a Religious man in his Cell: Nor shall their Churches be destroy-
 ed, or converted into Mosques: for whosoever doth so break this
 Covenant of God, opposes the Messenger of God, and frustrates the
 Divine Testament. No imposition shall be laid upon Fryars or Bi-
 shops, nor any of them who are not lyable to Taxes, unless it be with
 their own consent. And the Tax which shall be required from rich
 Merchants, and from Fishermen of their Pearl, from Miners of their
 Precious Stones, Gold and Silver; and all other rich and opulent
 Christians, shall not exceed above 12 shillings yearly; and it shall
 also be from them who are constant inhabitants of the place, and
 not from Travellers, and Men of an uncertain abode; for they shall
 not be subject to impositions or contributions, unless they are pos-
 sessors of inheritance of Land or Estate; for he which is lawfully
 subject to pay money to the Emperour, shall pay as much as another,
 and not more; nor more required from him, above his faculty and
 strength. In like manner, he that is taxed for his Land, Houses or
 Revenue, shall not be burthened immoderately, nor oppressed with
 greater Taxes then any others that pay contribution: Nor shall the
 confederates be obliged to go to War with the *Mosfellmans* against
 their Enemies, either to fight or discover their Armies, because it is
 not

not of duty to a confederate, to be employed in Military affairs; but rather this Compact is made with them, that they may be the less oppressed; but rather the *Mosfellmans* shall watch, and ward, and defend them: And therefore, that they be not compelled to go forth to fight, or encounter the Enemy, or find Horse or Arms, unless they voluntarily furnish them; and he who shall thus willingly contribute, shall be recompensed and rewarded. No *Mosfellman* shall molest the Christians, nor contend with them in any thing but in kindness, but treat them with all courtesie, and abstain from all oppression or violence towards them. If any Christian commit a crime or fault, it shall be the part of the *Mosfellman* to assist him, intercede and give caution for him, and compound for his miscarriage; liberty shall also be given him to redeem his life, nor shall he be forsaken, nor be destitute of help, because of the Divine Covenant which is with them, that they should enjoy what the *Mosfellmans* enjoy, and suffer what they suffer: and on the other side, that the *Mosfellmans* enjoy what they enjoy, and suffer what they suffer. And according to this Covenant, which is by the Christians just request, and according to that endeavour which is so required for confirmation of its Authority, you are obliged to protect them from all calamity, and perform all offices of good will towards them, so that the *Mosfellmans* may be sharers with them in prosperity and adversity. Moreover, all care ought to be had, that no violence be offered to them, as to matters relating to marriage, *viz.* That they compel not the Parents to match their Daughters with *Mosfellmans*: Nor shall they be molested for refusal, either to give a Bridegroom or a Bride; for this is an act wholly voluntary, depending on their free will and pleasure. But if it happen that a Christian Woman shall joyn with a *Mosfellman*, he is obliged to give her liberty of conscience in her Religion, that she may obey her Ghostly Father, and be instructed in the Doctrines of her Faith without impediment; therefore he shall not disquiet her, either by threatening divorce, or by solicitations to forsake her Faith: but if he shall be contrary hereunto, and molest her herein, he despises the Covenant of God, rebels against the Compact of the Messenger of God, and is entred into the number of lyars. Moreover, when Christians would repair their Churches or Convents, or any thing else appertaining unto their Worship, and have need of the liberality and assistance of the *Mosfellmans* heretup to, they ought to contribute, and freely to bestow according to their ability; not with intention to receive it again, but *gratis*; and as a good will towards their Faith, and to fulfil the Covenant of the Messenger of God, considering the obligation they have to perform the Covenant of God, and the compact of the Messenger of God. Nor shall they oppress any of them living amongst the *Mosfellmans*, nor hate them, nor compel them to carry Letters, or shew the way, or any other manner force them: for he which exercises any manner of this Tyranny against them, is an oppressor, and an adversary to the Messenger of God, and refractory to his Precepts. These are the Covenants agreed between *Mahomet* the Messenger of God, and Christians. But the conditions on which I bind these Covenants on their Consciences, are these: That no Christian give any entertainment to a Souldier, enemy to the *Mosfellmans*.

' or receive him in his house publickly or privately; that they re-
 ' ceive none of the Enemies of the *Mosfellmans*, as sojourners into their
 ' Houses, Churches or religious Convents; nor under-hand furnish the
 ' Camp of their Enemies with Arms, Horse, Men, or maintain any inter-
 ' course or correspondence with them, by contracts or writing; but
 ' betaking themselves to some certain place of abode, shall attend to
 ' the preservation of themselves, and to the defence of their Religion.
 ' To any *Mosfelman* and his Beasts, they shall give three days enter-
 ' tainment with variety of Meat; and moreover, shall endeavour to
 ' defend them from all misfortune and trouble; so that if any *Mosfel-*
 ' *man* shall be desirous, or be compelled to conceal himself in any of
 ' their houses or habitations, they shall friendly hide him, and deliver
 ' him from the danger he is in, and not betray him to his Enemy: and
 ' in this manner the Christians performing Faith on their side, who-
 ' soever violates any of these conditions, and doth contrarily, shall be
 ' deprived of the benefits contained in the Covenant of God and his
 ' Messenger; nor shall he deserve to enjoy these privileges indulged
 ' to Bishops and Christian Monks, and to the believers of the contents
 ' of the *Alchoran*. Wherefore I do conjure my people by God and
 ' his Prophet to maintain these things faithfully, and fulfil them, in
 ' what part soever of the world they are. And the Messenger of God
 ' shall recompence them for the same; the perpetual observation of
 ' which he seriously recommends to them, until the day of judgment,
 ' and dissolution of the world. Of these conditions which *Mahomet*
 ' the Messenger of God hath agreed with the Christians, and hath en-
 ' joyned, the witnesses were

' *Abu-Bacre Assadiq, Omar ben-alcharab.*

' *Ishman ben Afaw, Ati ben abi-taleb,*

' with a number of others; the Secretary was *Moavia ben abi Sofian*,
 ' a Souldier of the Messenger of God; the last day of the Moon of the
 ' fourth Month, the fourth year of *Hegira* in *Medina*. May God
 ' remunerate those who are witnesses to this writing. Praise be to
 ' God the Lord of all creatures.

This Covenant or Articles with Christians (howsoever denied by
 the *Turks* to have been the act and agreement of *Mahomet*) is yet by
 very good Authors taken for real, and to have been at that time con-
 firmed when his Kingdom was weak, and in its infancy, and when he
 Warred with the *Arabians*: and fearing likewise the enmity of the Chri-
 stians (not to be assaulted by two Enemies at once) secured himself
 by this religious League, made in the Monastery of *Fryars*, in Mount
Carmel, from whence that strict Order have their denomination: But
 mark how well *Mahomet* in the sequel observed this Law: As soon as
 his Government increased, and that by Arms and bad Arts he had secu-
 red his Kingdom, he writes his Chapter of the Sword, called so perhaps
 because the first words of it are often engraved on the *Turks* Cyneters
 made at *Damascus*, and on their Bucklers and other sorts of Arms: And
 another Chapter in the *Alchoran*, called the Chapter of Battel (which is
 always read by the *Turks* before they go to fight) and therein his mo-
 dest words (if you adore not what I adore, let your Religion be to
 you, and mine to me) and other promises of toleration and indulgence
 to the Christian Religion, were changed to a harsher note; and his

Edicts

Edicts were then for blood and ruine, and enslavement of Christians: When you meet with Infidels, saith he, cut off their heads, kill them, take them prisoners, bind them, until either you think fit to give them liberty, or pay their ransom; and forbear not to persecute them, until they have laid down their Arms and submitted. And this is that sort of toleration the *Turks* give to the Christian Religion; they know they cannot force mens Wills, nor captivate their Consciences, as well as their bodies; but what means may be used to render them contemptible, to make them poor, their lives uncomfortable, and the interest of their Religion weak and despicable, are practised with divers Arts and Tyranny, that their toleration of Christianity is rather to afflict and persecute it, than any grant of favour or dispensation.

The *Mahometan* Religion tolerates Christian Churches and Houses of Devotion, in places where they have been anciently founded, but admits not of holy Buildings on new foundations; they may repair the old Coverings and Roofs, but cannot lay a stone in a new place Consecrated to Divine Service; nor if Fire, or any accident destroy the Superstructure, may a new strength be added to the foundation, wherewith to under-prop it for another Building; so that at last the Christian Churches in those Dominions must necessarily come to ruine, as many already have submitted to the common fate of time. And as it happened in the great and notable Fires of *Galata* first, and then of *Constantinople*, in the year 1660, that many of the Christian Churches and Chappels were brought to Ashes; and afterwards by the Piety and Zeal of Christians scarce re-edified, before by publick order they were thrown down again into their former heaps, being adjudged contrary to the Turkish Law, to permit Churches again to be restored, of which no more remained than the meer foundation.

CHAP. III.

The Arts wherewith the Turkish Religion is propagated.

THe *Turks*, though they offer the specious out-side of the foregoing toleration, yet by their Law are authorized to enforce mens consciences to the profession of their Faith; and that is done by various arts and niceties of Religion: For if a man turn *Turk*, his Children under the age of fourteen years, though Educated with other principles, must be forced to the same perswasion. Men that speak against the *Mahometan* Law, that have rashly promised at a time of distraction or drunkenness to become *Turks*, or have had carnal knowledge of a Turkish Woman, must either become Martyrs or Apostates; besides many other subtilties they have to entrap the souls of Christians within the entanglements of their Law.

It is another Policie wherewith the *Mahometan* Sect hath been encreased, the accounting it a principle of Religion, not to deliver a City or Fortref by consent or voluntary surrender, where *Mosques* have been once built, and *Mahometanism* professed. And therefore the *Turk* no sooner enters a Town by Conquest, but immediately lays foundations for his Temples, thereby imposing an obligation of an obstinate
and

and constant resolution on the conscience of the defendants, which many times hath been found to have been more forcible and prevalent on the spirits of men, than all the terrors and miseries of Famine, Sword or other calamities.

It is well enough known upon what different interests Christianity and *Mahometanism* were introduced into the world; the first had no other enforcements, than the persuasions and Sermons of a few poor Fishermen, verified with Miracles, Signs and inspiration of the Holy Ghost; carrying before it the promises of another life, and considerations of a glorified spirituality in a state of separation; but the way to it was obstructed with the opposition of Emperours and Kings, with scorn and contempt, with persecution and death; and this was all the encouragement proposed to mankind to embrace this Faith: but *Mahometanism* made its way with the Sword; what knots of Argument he could not untie, he cut, and made his spiritual power as large as his temporal; made his precepts easie and pleasant, and acceptable to the fancy and appetite, as well as to the capacity of the vulgar: representing Heaven to them, not in a spiritual manner, or with delights unexpressible, and ravishments known only in part to illuminated souls; but with gross conceptions of the beauty of Women with great eyes, of the duration of one act of carnal copulation for the space of sixty years, and of the beastly satisfaction of a gluttonous palate; things absurd and ridiculous to wise and knowing men; but yet capable to draw multitudes of professors, and carnal defenders of its verity. And this Doctrine being irrational to the better sort of judgments, causes the Lawyers, who are men of the subtlest capacities amongst the *Turks*, to mistrust much of the truth of the Doctrine of *Mahomet*; especially the assertions relating to the condition of the other life. For the representation of the delights of the next world, in a corporeal and sensual manner, being inconsistent with their reason, leads them to doubt the truth of that point; and so wavering with one scruple, proceed to a mistrust of the whole System of the *Mahometans* faith. One would think that in such men a way were prepared for the entertainment of a Religion, erected on more solid principles and foundations; and that the Jews might gain such Proselytes to their Law, from which a great part of the *Mahometan* superstition was borrowed; or that the Christians might take advantage in so well-disposed subjects, to produce something of the Mystery of Godliness: But the first are a people so obnoxious to scorn and contempt, esteemed by the *Turks* to be the scum of the world, and the worst of men; that it is not probable their Doctrine can gain a reputation with those, to whom their very persons and blood are vile and detestable; nor is it likely the Christians will ever be received by them with greater Authority, and more favourable inclination, until they acquit themselves of the scandal of Idolatry, which the Images and Pictures in their Churches seem to accuse them of in the eyes and judgment of the *Turks*, who are not versed in the subtle distinctions of Schoolmen, in the limitations and restrictions of that worship, and the evasions of their Doctors, matters not only sufficient to puzzle and distract the gross heads of *Turks*, but to strain the wits of learned Christians to clear them from that imputation.

But to return to our purpose. The propagation of the *Mahometan* faith

faith having been promoted wholly by the Sword; that persuasion and principle in their Catechism, that the souls of those who die in the Wars against the Christians, without the help of previous acts of performance of their Law, or other works, are immediately transported to Paradise, must necessarily whet the Swords and raise the spirits of the Souldiers; which is the reason that such Multitudes of them (as we read in History) run evidently to their own slaughter, esteeming their lives and bodies at no greater price than the value of stones and rubbish to fill Rivulets and Ditches, that they may but erect a Bridge or passage for their fellows to assault their enemies.

The success of the *Mahometan* arms produced another argument for the confirmation of their faith, and made it a principle; that whatsoever prospers, hath God for the Author; and by how much more successful have been their Wars, by so much the more hath God been an owner of their cause and Religion. And the same argument (if I am not mistaken) in the times of the late Rebellion in *England*, was made use of by many, to intitle God to their cause, and make him the Author of their thriving sin, because their wickedness prospered, and could trample on all holy and humane rights with impunity. And I have known that the *Romanists* have judged the afflictions and almost subversion of the Church of *England*, to be a token of Gods desertion and disclaim of her profession, forgetting the Persecutions and Martyrdoms of the Primitive Saints, and that the Church of God is built in sorrow and established with patience and passive graces; but these men rather than want an argument, their malice will use the weapons of Infidels to opugn the truth. And on this ground, the *Turks* so horribly detest and abhor the Jews, calling them the forsaken of God, because they are Vagabonds over all the world, and have no Temporal Authority to protect them: And though according to the best enquiry I could make, that report is not true, That they permit not a Jew to become a *Turk*, but by turning a Christian first, as a nearer step and previous disposition to the *Musulman* faith; yet it is certain they will not receive the Corps of a Renegado Jew into their Cemeteries or places of burial; and the Jews on the other side disowning any share or part in him, his loathed Carcass is thrown into some Grave distant from other Sepulchers, as unworthy the Society of all mankind.

CHAP. IV.

The power and office of the Musti's, and of their Government in Religious Matters.

THe *Musti* is the principal head of the *Mahometan* Religion or Oracle of all doubtful questions in the Law, and is a person of great esteem and reverence amongst the *Turks*; his election is solely in the Grand Signior, who chuses a man to that office alwayes famous for his Learning in the Law, and eminent for his vertues and strictness of life; his Authority is so great amongst them, that when he passes judgment or determination in any point, the Grand Signior himself will in no wise contradict or oppose it.

His power is not compulsory, but only resolving and perswasive in matters both Civil and Criminal, and of State : his manner of resolves is by writing ; the question being first stated in Paper briefly and succinctly, he underneath subscribes his sentence by Yes, or No, or in some other short determination called a *Fetfa*, with addition of these words, God knows better ; by which it is apparent that the determinations of the *Mufti* are not esteemed infallible. This being brought to the *Cadee* or Judge, his judgement is certainly regulated according thereunto, and Law Suits of the greatest moment concluded in an hour, without Arrests of judgement, appeals, or other dilatory Arts of the Law.

In matters of State the *Sultan* demands his opinion, whether it be in condemnation of any great man to death, or in making War or Peace, or other important affairs of the Empire ; either to appear the more just and religious, or to incline the people more willingly to obedience. And this practice is used in business of greatest moment ; scarce a *Vizier* is proscribed, or a *Pashaw* for pretence of crime displaced, or any matter of great alteration or change designed ; but the Grand Signior arms himself with the *Mufti's* sentence ; for the nature of man reposes more security in innocence and actions of justice, then in the absolute and uncontrouleable power of the Sword. And the Grand Signior, though he himself is above the Law, and is the Oracle and Fountain of Justice, yet it is seldome that he proceeds so irregularly to condemn that Authority wherein their Religion hath placed an ultimate power of decision in all their controversies.

But sometimes perhaps *Quæries* are sent from the Grand Signior to the *Mufti*, which he cannot resolve with satisfaction of his own conscience, and the ends of the *Sultan* ; by which means affairs important to the well being of the State, meet delays and impediment ; In this case the *Mufti* is fairly dismissed from his infallible office, and another Oracle introduced, who may resolve the difficult demands with a more favourable sentence ; if not, he is degraded like the former, and so the next, until one is found apt to prophesie according to what may best agree with the interest of his Master. This Office was in past-times esteemed more sacred by the *Ottoman* Princes then at present ; for no War was undertaken, or great Enterprize set on foot, but first like the Oracle or *Augur*, his determination with great reverence was required as that without which no blessing or success could be expected ; but in these dayes they are more remiss in this manner of consultation ; sometimes it is done for formality ; but most commonly the Prime *Vizier* conceited of his own judgement and Authority assumes the power to himself, and perhaps first does the thing, and afterwards demands the approbation of it by the sence of the Law.

And hertin the *Mufti* hath a spacious Field for his Interpretations ; for it is agreed that their Law is temporary, and admits of expositions according to times and state of things : And though they preach to the people the perfection of their *Alchoran* ; yet the wiser men hold, that the *Mufti* hath an expository power of the Law to improve and better it, according to the state of things, times and conveniences of the Empire ; for that their Law was never designed to be a clog or confinement to the propagation of Faith, but an advancement thereof, and therefore

to be interpreted in the largest and farthest fetched sense, when the strict words will not reach the design intended.

So it was once propounded to the *Mufti*, what rule should be observed in the devotion of a *Turk* carried Slave into the Northern parts of the world, where in Winter is but one hour of day, how he might possibly comply with his obligation of making prayers five times within the twenty four hours; viz. Morning, Noon, Afternoon, Sunset, and at an hour and half in the Night; when the whole day being but of one hour admitted of none of these distinctions; for resolution of which, the *Mufti* answered, that God commanded not things difficult as it is in the *Alchoran*, and that matters ought to be ordered in conformity to time and place, and making short prayers once before day, then twice in the hour of light, and twice after it is dark, the duty is complied with.

Another question of the same nature was proposed to the *Mufti*, concerning the *Kiblah* or holy place of *Mecha*, to which they are obliged to turn their faces in their prayers; how at Sea where they had no mark, especially such bad Geographers as commonly the *Turks* are, it is possible to comply with that necessary formality required in their devotion; the *Mufti* resolved this doubt almost like the former, prescribing a kind of circular motion in prayers, by which means they cannot miss of having at some time their faces towards the Holy City, which in a case of so much difficulty is a sufficient compliance with the duty.

Many cases of this nature are proposed to the *Mufti*; and many particular rules of conscience required, one of which is remarkable, that *Busbequius* relates, that occurred in his time during the Wars between the Emperour of Germany, and Sultan *Solyman*: whether a few Christians taken Captives by the Grand Signior, might be exchanged with many *Turks* in the hand of the Emperour. It seems the *Mufti* was greatly perplexed and puzzled in the resolution; for sometimes it seemed a disesteem to the value of a *Turk* to be rated under the price of a Christian; on the other side, it appeared want of charity and care of the interest of the *Moslems* to neglect real terms of advantage on such airy and subtle points of formality. In fine he consulted his Books, and declared that he found two different Authors of great authority of contradictory opinions in this controversy; and therefore his Judgment was to incline to that which had most of favour & mercy in it. The *Mufti* whilst qualified with that title, is rarely put to death, but first degraded, and then becomes liable to the stroke of the Executioner; but in cases of notorious crimes or conviction of Treason, he is put into a Mortar for that intent remaining in the Prison called the seven Towers, at *Constantinople*, and therein beaten to death, and brayed to the breaking and confusion of all his bones and flesh.

The next office to the *Mufti* is *Kadeleschere*, or Judge of the Militia, otherwise Judge Advocate, who hath yet power of determination in any other Law Suits whatsoever; for this privilege the Souldiery of this Country enjoys, to have a power extensive over all other conditions of people, but to be only subject themselves to the Government of their own Officers; this office a *Mufti* must necessarily pass through, and discharge with approbation before he ascends the top and height of his Preferment.

Mollah.

The next inferiour degree is a *Mollah* ; and these are of two sorts, one of three hundred Aspers, and the other of five hundred Aspers, so called for distinction sake ; the first sort are principal Judges in petty Provinces, containing under them the command of *Kadees* of poor and inconsiderable places ; the others have their jurisdiction over the whole dominion of a *Beglerbeg*, and have the *Kadees* of several rich and renowned places under their Government : these rise often to the *Mustî*'s office, but proceed by several degrees and steps, and must first gradually command where the Imperial Seats have been, as first to be *Mollah* in *Prusa*, then in *Adrianople*, and lastly in *Constantinople*, at which time he is next to the office of *Kadeleschere*, and thence to that of the *Mustî*.

These and *Kadees* which are the lower and ordinary sort of Judges, are as much to be reckoned in the number of religious men as the *Mustî* himself ; for as I have said before, the Civil Law of the *Turks* is conceived by them to be derived from their Prophet, and the other Expositors of their Law with as much engagement and obligation as these which immediately concern the Divine Worship ; and therefore are to be treated and handled together.

The *Emanms* or Parochial Priests, must be able to read in the *Alchoran*, and be counted men of good fame and moral lives amongst their neighbours, before they can be promoted to this Function, and must be one of those who have learned at the appointed times of prayer to call the people together on the top of the Steeple, by repeating those words, *Allah ekber, Allah ekber, Eschedu enla Ilabe ilallah we eschedu enne Mahammed ewvesul : cuah Fleie ala Selah heie ala Felah Allah ekber, allah ekber, la Ilabe ilallah* ; that is, God is great, God is great, I profess that there is no Deity but God, and confess that *Mahomet* is the Prophet of God ; in this manner the people of a Parish recommending any one to the Prime Visier, declaring that the former *Emanm* is dead, and the office Vacant, and that this person is qualified in all points to the Function, or better and more knowing than the present Incumbent ; he receives immediate induction and establishment in the place ; but for better proof or tryal of the truth of the testimony that accompanies him, he is enjoined to read in presence of the Visier some part of the *Alchoran*, which being done, he is dismissed and approved, and takes the Visiers *Teschere* or *Mandamus* for the place.

This is all the Ceremony required in making an *Emanm* ; for there is no new Character or state of Priest-hood (as they hold) conferred upon them, nor are they a different sort distinguished from the people by holy Orders or Rites, but meerly by the present office they manage ; when being displaced, they are again numbred with the Laity : their habit is nothing different from others, but only that they wear a larger Turbant like the Lawyers, with some little variety in folding it up, and put on a grave and serious countenance. Their office is to call the people to prayers, and at due hours to be their leader into the *Mosque*, and to read and repeat upon Fridays certain Sentences or Veries out of the *Alchoran* ; few of them adventure to Preach, unless he be well conceited or really well gifted, but leave that office to the *Soigh*, or him that makes Preaching his Profession, who is one commonly that passes his time in the Convents, that we shall hereafter treat.

The

The *Mufti* hath no jurisdiction over the *Emams*, as to the good order or Government of the Parishes, nor is there any Superiority or Hierarchie as to rule amongst them; every one being Independent and without controul in his own Parish, excepting his subjection in Civil and Criminal Causes to the chief Magistrates, and considering the manner of their designation to the Religious office, the little difference between the Clergy and the Laity, and the manner of their single Government in Parochial Congregations, may not unaptly seem to square with the Independency in *England*, from which original pattern and example our Sectaries and Phanatick Reformers appear to have drawn their Copy.

The Church-men and Lawyers are greatly in esteem amongst them, as is apparent by the Title they use towards them in their writings and commands, directed to them in this manner; You that are the glory of the Judges and Sage men, the profound Mines of Eloquence and Excellence, may your Wisdom and Ability be augmented.

CHAP. V.

Of the Mufti's Revenue, and from whence it doth arise.

AFTER the *Mufti* is Elected, there is no Ceremony used in his Investiture then this: he presents himself before the Grand Signior, who Cloaths him with a Vest of rich Sables of a thousand Dollars price, and a thousand more he presents him with in Gold made up in a Handkerchief, which he delivers with his own hand, putting it in the fold of his under Garment doubled over his breast, and bestows on him a Salary of two thousand Aspers a day, which is about five pound Sterling mony; besides which he hath no certain Revenue, unless it be the power of Preferment to some Prebendaries or Benefices of certain Royal *Mosques*, which he sells and disposes of as is best to his advantage without the scruple of corruption or Simony.

By the sentences he gives which they call *Fetfas*, he receives not one Asper benefit; though every *Fetfa* costs eight Aspers, yet the Fee thereof goes to his Officers; that is, to his *Muswedegi*, or he who states the question, is paid five Aspers; to his *Mameiz*, or he who Copies or transcribes the question fair, two Aspers; to him that keeps the Seal, one Asper.

Other benefits the *Mufti* hath little, excepting only that at his first entrance to his office, he is saluted by all Embassadors and Residents for foreign Princes; as also the Agents of several *Pashas* residing at the Port, none of which come empty-handed, but offer their accustomed presents, by which he collects at least fifty thousand Dollars.

When any *Mufti* is deprived of his Office without any other motive then the pleasure of the Grand Signior, he is gratified with an *Arpalik*, which is the disposal of some judical Preferments in certain Provinces and the superintendency of them, from which he gathers a competent Revenue for his maintenance.

And because he is a Person whose advice and counsel is of great
 Autho-

Authority with the Grand Signior and Visier, and that his word and candid report of matters is considerable, and his favour in sentences very estimable; he is therefore courted by all the Grandees of the Empire, who know no other way of reconciling and purchasing the affection of a *Turk*, then by force of presents, which have more of power in them, then all other obligations or merits in the world.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Emirs.



Emir Bashee or Head of Mahomet's Kindred.

WE may here bring in the *Emirs*; otherwise called *Enlad Reful*, into the number of the Religious men, because they are of the race of *Mahomet*, who for distinction sake, wear about their heads Turbants of a deep Sea-green which is the Colour of their Prophet; out of reverence to his esteemed holy blood, many priviledges are indulged by the secular Authority, that they cannot be vilified, affronted or strook by a *Turk* upon forfeiture of his right hand; but lest they should be licentious by his impunity, they have a chief Head or Superior

riour amongst them called *Nakib Eschref*, who hath his Serjeants or Officers under him, and is endued with so absolute a power over them, that as he pleases it extends both to Life and Death; but he never will give the scandal to this holy seed to execute or punish them publickly. And though few of them can derive his Genealogie clearly from *Mahomet*; yet those who can but only pretend to it, are often helped out in their Pedigree; as often as the *Nakib* desires to favour any Person, or can have any colour to acquire a new subject; and then to clear all scruple from the world, he gives him a Tree of his lineage and descent. The *Turks* being well acquainted with this abuse, carry the less respect to the whole Generation; so that as often as they find any of them drunk or disordered, they make no scruple to take off their Green Turbants first, Kissing them and laying them aside with all Reverence, and afterwards beat them without respect or Mercy.

Their second Officer is called *Alemdar*, who carries the Green Flag of *Mahomet*, when the Grand Signior appears with any solemnity in publick, they are capable of any offices; few of them exercise any Trade, unless that which is *Esfirgi*, or one who deals in Slaves, to which sort of Traffick this Sainted off-spring is greatly addicted, as being a holy profession to captivate and enslave Christians. These are the most abominable *Sodomites* and abusers of Masculine youth in the world, in which sin against nature they exceed the foulness and detestable lust of a *Tartar*.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

*Of the endowments of Royal Mosches, and in what manner
Tithes are given for Maintenance of their Priests and Religion.*



*An Emam or Parish Priest of one of the
Royall Moschs.*

THe *Turks* are very Magnificent in their *Mosches*, and Edifices erected to the honour and service of God, and not only in the Buildings; but in the endowments of them, with a Revenue which Records the Memory of the Donor to all Posterity, and relieves many poor who daily repeat prayers for the souls of such who dyed with a perswasion that they have need of them after their decease; for those I say who dye of that belief, for the condition of the soul, until the day of judgement is controverted amongst the *Turks*, and the question not decided as a matter of faith, or as revealed or determined by the *Alchoran*. For so large benevolence is given to places destined to Gods service, that as some compute, one third of the Lands of the whole Empire are allotted and set out to a holy use; much to the shame of those who pretend to the name of Christians, and yet judge the smallest proportion

tion to be too large a competence for those who serve at the Altar.

The principal *Moschs* and those of richest endowment (as in all reason ought) are those of Royal Foundations, called in *Turkish* *Selatin Giameleri*; over which the Prime Superintendent is the *Kuzlir Aga*, or the chief Black Eunuch of the *Sultans* Woman; and in his power it is to distribute all considerable offices of Ecclesiastical Preferment relating to the Royal *Moschs*, which office makes a considerable addition to his other power and Revenue: for there are many of those *Moschs* in divers places of the Empire; but especially where the *Sultans* do or have resided, as *Prusa*, *Adrianople* and *Constantinople*.

The Royal *Moschs* of *Constantinople* are *Santa Sophia*, *Sultan Mahomet*, who Conquered this City. *Sultan Bajazet*, *Sultan Selin*, *Sultan Solymán*, *Schezade* or the Son of *Sultan Solymán*, *Sultan Ahmet*, and three other *Moschs* built by the Queen Mothers, one of which was lately erected and richly indowed by the Mother of this present *Sultan*.

I shall scarce adventure to acquaint my Reader with the particular Revenue belonging to all these Royal Edifices, but certain it is they have Rents as noble and splendid as their Founders; for Example of which, I shall instance only in that of *Santa Sophia*, built by *Justinian* the Emperour, and re-built by *Theodosius*, and was the Metropolis of old *Bizantium*, and the Mother Church belonging to the Patriarchal See of *Greece*, is still conserved sacred and separated for use of Divine Service; of the Revenue of which *Mahometan* Barbarism and Superstition hath made no Sacrilegious Robbery, but maintained and improved and added to it, in that manner that the in-come may equal any Religious foundation of Christendom; for when I had the Curiosity of procuring from the Registers of that Church, distinctly all the particular Gifts, Benefices, Lands, Monies at interest, and other endowments belonging thereunto, and offered according to my ability something considerable, to have a true Copy of the riches and annual Rent of the place; the Keepers of those Lists would persuade me (whether out of ostentation, or scruple of sin to make one of my faith acquainted with the particulars of their Religious offerings) that the Wealth, rent and account of all those Royal endowments are so many, that as they are distinctly set down, fill a Volume, and the knowledge of them is the study alone of those who are designed to this service; but in general I am given to understand, by those who magnifie not matters beyond their due computation: That the Revenue amounts to about one hundred thousand *Zechins* a year; which proceeds not from any Lands or Duties raised without the Walls of the City, but all from within; the *Sultan* himself being a Tenant to that place, paying or acknowledging a Rent of one thousand and one *Aspers* a day for the ground which the *Seraglio* stands on, being in times of the Christian Emperours some part of the Sanctuary or Gardens dedicated to the use of that stately Temple, which the *Turks* esteemed Sacrilegious to separate entirely from the holy Service to which it was assigned; though the admirable situation thereof rendred it unfit for other habitation, then the enjoyment of the *Sultan*; did therefore think fit to oblige the Land to a Rent, adding the odde *Asper* as a signification, that the thousand *Aspers* were not a sufficient consideration for the use of the Church Lands; and might therefore be augmented as the piety

and devotion of succeeding Emperours should move them.

It is reported by the *Turks*, that *Constantinople* was taken upon a *Wednesday*; and that on the *Friday* following (which is their *Sunday* or *Sabbath* as we may call it) the victorious *Sultan* then first entituled Emperour, went with all Magnificent Pomp and Solemnity to pay his Thanksgiving and Devotions at the Church of *Sancta Sophia*; the Magnificence of which so pleased him, that he immediately added a yearly Rent of 10000 *Zechins* to the former endowments, for the maintenance of *Imams* or Priests, Doctors of their Law, *Talismans* and others, who continually attend there for the Education of youth, teaching them to read and write, instructing them also in the principles of their Law and Religion.

Other Emperours have since that time, erected near unto it their *Turbem* or Chappels of Burial, in one of which lies *Sultan Selim*, fir-named *Sarbofe*, or the drunken, with his hundred Children; and therewith have conferred a maintenance of Oyl for Lamps and Candles which burn day and night, and a provision for those who attend there in prayer for their souls departed; to which opinion the *Turks* (as I have said already) are generally inclinable, though not Preached or enforced on any mans belief as an Article of Faith. Over and above this expence, there is daily provision made for relief of a multitude of poor, who at certain hours appear at the Gates of this Temple, and receive their daily sustenance; whatsoever advances, as yearly great sums are laid up in the Treasury, is numbred with the riches of the *Mosch*, and remains for the service of that place, as for the reparation, or building thereof, in case of fire or other accidents.

Besides the sumptuous Edifices of the body of the Royal *Moschs*, there are annexed unto them certain Colledges for Students in the Law called *Tchmele*, out-houses for Kitchens, where the poors Meat is dressed, Hospitals called *Timarhanelar*, *Hans*, or Houses of Lodging for Strangers or Travellers, publick Fountains, shops for Artizans, and whole Streets of low Cottages for habitation of the poor, whose stock reaches not to a higher Rent.

All these appendages bring some Revenue to the *Mosch*, which is constantly paid in to the Rector or President thereof, called *Mutevelli*; but because this is not a sufficient maintenance, there are divers Lands, Villages, Mountains, Woods and whole Countries assigned to this use called *Wakfi*, which are hired out at certain Rents for the behoof and benefit of the *Moschs*; some rents being paid in Corn, others in Oyl, and all sorts of Provisions; and out of every new Conquered Country, some part thereof is assigned to the use of *Moschs* of modern Fabrick; as now from the Country gained lately about *Newhanfell* (which as I am informed from those who gave in the account to the Grand Signior, there are two thousand Villages which pay Contribution to the *Turk*) are assigned certain Lands for encrease of the rent of the *Moschs* built at *Constantinople* by this present Queen Mother; which rents are sometimes raised by the way of Tenth or Tithes, not that the *Turks* make Tithes a duty or rule for the maintenance of persons, places and things consecrated to Divine Service, but as they find it a convenient and equal expedient in some Countries for leviation of their rents. Such Countries and Villages as these which are called *Wakfi*, are

are greatly blessed and happy above others, in regard that the Inhabitants enjoy not only particular priviledges and immunities from thence, but freedom likewise from oppression of *Pashaws* and the *Turkish* Souldiery in their March, or of great persons in their journey or passage from one Country to another, who out of reverence to that lot to which they are separated, abstain from all kind of disturbance and abuse towards that people.

Other *Moschs* of inferiour quality, founded by private persons and the consents of *Dervises* and other Orders, which cannot have their Revenues in Land like the *Moschs* of Royal Foundation, have their Estates in money bequeathed by Testament or by Gift of the Living, which being lent out at eighteen in the hundred *per annum*, produces a constant rent; and though interest for the most part is forbidden by the *Mahometan* Law, yet for the uses of *Moschs* and support of Orphans it is allowed; in all other cases it is *Haram* and abominable. And because the taking up of money upon Loane is in some manner necessary and conducing to the better subsistence and being of Trade, and that men will not lend without a consideration or benefit; the usual manner is to borrow money for a certain time, and in the writing or obligation to acknowledge the receipt of as much as the principal and interest may amount unto, and oftentimes double of the Capital sum, which being delivered before witnesses in a bag or in gross, the Creditor declaring the sum to be so much therein contained, and the Debtor acknowledging it, the testimony is valid when the Debt comes to be demanded. And thus much shall serve in brief to have declared concerning the endowments and manner of enriching the *Turkish Moschs*, from whence the constitution of others of the like nature may easily be collected.

CHAP. VIII.

The Nature of Predestination according to the Turkish Doctors.

THE Doctrine of the *Turks* in this point seems to run exactly according to the assertion of the severest *Calvinists*; and in proof hereof their Learned men produce places of Scripture, which seem to incline to the same opinion. As shall the Vessel say to the Potter, *Why hast thou made me thus? I will harden the heart of Pharoah*; Jacob *have I loved, and Esau have I hated*, and the like. For the *Turks* attribute no small Reverence and Authority to the Old Testament, as wrote by Divine Inspiration, but that the *Alchoran* being of later date, and containing the Will of God more expressly and perfectly, the former is now abrogated and gives place unto this.

Some are so positive in this assertion, that they are not afraid to say that God is the Author of evil, without distinction or evasions to acquit the Divine purity of the foulness of sin according to the Doctrine of the *Manichees*. And all in general concur in this conclusion, That whatsoever prospers hath God for the Author; which was the reason they destroyed not *Bajazets* Children, during the time of his War against his

his Brother *Selymus*, expecting to receive an undoubted argument of the Will of God therein, from the good or bad fortune of the Father. And from the same rule they conclude much of the Divine approbation and truth of their Religion, from their Conquests and present Prosperity.

They are of opinion that every mans destiny is writ in his forehead, which they call *Narşip* or *Ta'zir*, which is the Book writ in Heaven of every mans fortune, and is by no contrary endeavours, counsels or wisdom to be avoided; which Tenent is so firmly radicated in the minds of the vulgar, that it causes the Souldiery brutishly to throw away their lives in the most desperate attempts, and to esteem no more of their bodies, then as dirt or rubbish to fill up the trenches of the Enemy: And to speak the truth, this received assertion hath turned the *Turks* as much to account, as any other of their best and subtlest Maxims.

According to this Doctrine, none ought to avoid or fear the Infection of the Plague; *Mahomet's* precepts being not to abandon the City-house where Infection rages, because God hath numbred their days and predestinated their fate; And upon this belief, they as familiarly attend the Beds and frequent the company of Pestilential persons, as we do those that are affected with the Gout, Stone or Ague. And though they evidently see that Christians, who fly into better Airs, and from infected habitations, survive the fury of the years Pestilence, when whole Cities of them perish and are depopulated with the Disease; yet so far is this opinion rooted amongst them, that they scruple not to strip the contagious shirt from the dead body, and to put it on their own, nor can they remove their abode from the Chambers of the sick; it being the custom in the Families of great men to lodge many Servants on different Palets in the same room, where the diseased and healthful lie promiscuously together, from whence it hath hapned often, that three parts of a *Pashaw's* Family, which perhaps hath consisted of two hundred men, most youthful and lusty, have perished in the heat of *July* and *August's* Pestilence. And in the same manner many whole Families every Summer have perished, and not one survivor left to claim the inheritance of the house; for want of which the Grand Signior hath become the proprietor.

Though the *Mahometan* Law obliges them not to abandon the City, nor their houses, nor avoid the conversation of men infected with the Pestilence where their business or calling employs them; yet they are counselled not to frequent a contagious habitation, where they have no lawful affair to invite them. But yet I have observed, in the time of an extraordinary Plague, that the *Turks* have not confided so much to the precept of their Prophet, as to have courage enough to withstand the dread and terrour of that slaughter the sickness hath made; but have under other excuses fled to retired and private Villages, especially the *Cadees* and men of the Law, who being commonly of more refined wits and judgments then the generality, both by reason and experience have found that a wholesom Air is a preserver of life, and that they have lived to return again to their own house in health and strength, when perhaps their next Neighbours have through their brutish ignorance been laid in their Graves. And this is the opinion
most

most general and current with the *Turks*, who are called *Jebare*; There is another sort amongst them called *Kadere*.

CHAP. IX.

The difference of Sects and disagreement in Religion amongst the Turks in general.

There is no consideration more abstruse and full of distraction, then the contemplation of the strange variety of Religions in the world: how it is possible that from the rational soul of man, which in all mankind is of little difference in it self, and from that one principle, which is the adoration of a Deity, should proceed such diversities of Faiths, such figments and Ideas of God, that all Ages and all Countries have abounded with superstitions of different natures; And it is strange to consider, that Nations who have been admirably wise, judicious and profound in the Maxims of their Government, should yet in matters of Religion give themselves over to believe the Tales of an old Woman, a *Pythonesse*, or the dreams and imaginations of a melancholy *Hermite*. And it is as strange that men who embrace the same principles in Religion, and have the same true and infallible Foundation, should yet raise such different and disproportionate Fabricks, that most should make their superstructure of Straw and Stubble, and but few of a substantial and durable Building, without uniformity, harmony or agreement each to other. For resolution of which difficulties, nothing can be said more then that the god of this world hath blinded the hearts of them that believe not, *Lest the light of the glorious Gospel* ^{2 Cor. 4. v. 4.} *of Christ who is the image of God, should shine unto them.*

The *Mahometan* Religion is also one of the prodigious products of Reasons superfections, which hath brought forth nothing good, nor rational in this production, more then the confession of one God. And yet even herein also are diversities of Sects, Opinions and Orders, which are maintained in opposition each to other, with emulation and zeal by the professors, with heats, disputes and separations, terming the contrary parties prophane and unholy; the particulars of which Sects and diversity in their Tenents, I shall as far as I have seen or could learn, set down and describe, having with the more curiosity and diligence made the stricter enquiry, because I have not read any Author which hath given a satisfactory account of such Sects as are sprung up amongst them in these latter and modern times.

It is a common opinion, that there are seventy two Sects amongst the *Turks*, but it is probable there are many more, if the matter were exactly known and scanned. The *Turkish* Doctors fancy that the seventy two Nations which they call (*Yetmiş ekee Melet*) into which the world was divided upon the confusion of the Languages at *Babel*, was a Type and a Figure of the divisions which in after-ages should succeed in the three most general Religions of the World. In this manner they account seventy different Sects amongst the Jews, seventy one amongst the Christians, and to the *Mahometan* they assign one more, as being the

the last and ultimate Religion, in which, as all fulness of true Doctrine is completed, so the Myſtery of iniquity, and the deviation of mans judgment, by many paths from the right rule, is here terminated and confined.

The *Turks* have amongst themselves as well as in other Religions, Sects and Heresies of dangerous consequence, which daily encrease mixing together with them many of the Christian Doctrines (which shall in their due place be described) and in former times also a sort of phanatick *Mahometans* which at first met only in Congregations under pretence of Sermons and Religion, appeared afterwards in Troops armed against the Government of the Empire.

So one *Scheichs Bedredin* Chief Justice to *Musa*, Brother of *Mahomet* the fifth King of the *Turks*; after the death of his Master was banished to *Nice* in *Asia*, where consulting with his Servant *Burgluzes Mustapha*, by what means they might raise Sedition and a second War; they agreed, the readiest course was by broaching a new Sect and Religion, and by perswading the people to something contrary to the ancient *Mahometan* superstition. Whereupon *Burgluzes* masking his Villany under a grave and serious countenance, took his journey into *Aydinin*, otherwise *Caria*, where he vented Doctrines properly agreeing to the humour of the people, preaching to them freedom and liberty of conscience and the Myſtery of Revelations, and you may believe he used all arts in his perswasions, with which Subjects used to be allured to a Rebellion against their Prince, so that in a short time he contracted a great number of Disciples beyond his expectation. *Bedredin* perceiving his servant thrive so well with his preaching, fled from his place of Exile at *Nice* into *Valachia*, where withdrawing himself into a Forest like a devout religious man, gathered a number of Profelytes composed of Thieves, Robbers and Out-lawed people; these he having instructed in the principles of his Religion, sent abroad like Apostles to preach and teach the people that *Bedredin* was appointed by God to be the King of Justice, and Commander of the whole world; and that his Doctrine was already embraced in *Asia*: The people taken with these Novelties, repaired in great numbers to *Bedredin*, who conceiving himself strong enough to take the field, issued from his desert with Colours displayed, and an Army well appointed; and fighting with his deluded Multitude a bloody Battel, against those Forces which *Mahomet* sent to suppress him under his Son *Amurath*; the deluded Rebels were overthrown, *Bedredin* taken Prisoner, and his pretences of Sanctity and Revelation were not available to save him from the Gallows.

And thus we see, that the name of Gods cause, revelations, liberty and the like, have been old and common pretences and delusions of the world, and not only Christians, but *Infidels* and *Mahometans* have wrote the name of God on their Banners, and brought the pretence of Religion in the Field to justify their cause.

CHAP. X.

Of the two prevailing Sects, viz. Of Mahomet and Hali; that is, the Turk and the Persian; the Errours of the Persian recounted and confuted by the Mufti of Constantinople.

THE two great Sects amongst the followers of *Mahomet*, which are most violent each against other, the mutual hatred of which diversity of Education and Interest of the Princes have augmented, are the *Turks* and *Persians*: The first hold *Mahomet* to have been the chief and ultimate Prophet; the latter prefer *Hali* before him; and though he was his Disciple and succeeded him; yet his inspirations they esteem greater and more frequent, and his interpretations of the law most perfect and Divine.

The *Turk* also accuses the *Persian* of corrupting the *Alchoran*, that they have altered words, misplaced the Comma's and Stops, that many places admit of a doubtful and ambiguous sense; so that those *Alchorans* which were upon the Conquest of *Babylon* brought thence to *Constantinople*, are separated and compiled in the great *Seraglio*, in a place apart, and forbidden with a Curse on any that shall read them. The *Turks* call the *Persian* forsaken of God, abominable and blasphemers of the Holy Prophet; so that when *Selymus* the first made War in *Persia*, he named his cause the cause of God, and proclaimed the occasion and ground of his War to be the Vindication of the cause of the Prophet, and revenge of the blasphemies the *Persians* had vented against him; and so far is this hatred radicated, that the youth of what Nation soever is capable of admittance into the Schools of the *Seraglio*, excepting only the *Persian*, who are looked upon by the *Turk* as a people so far Apostatized from the true belief, and fallen into so desperate an Estate by a total corruption of the true Religion, that they judge them altogether beyond hopes or possibility of recovery, and therefore neither give them quarter in the Wars, nor account them worthy of life or slavery.

Nor are the *Persians* on the other side endued with better nature of good will to the *Turks*, estranging themselves in the farthest manner from their Customs and Doctrines, rejecting the three great Doctors of the *Mahometan* Law, viz. *Ebbubecher*, *Osman* and *Omar*, as Apocryphal and of no Authority; and have a custom at their Marriages to erect the Images of those three Doctors of Paste or Sugar at the entrance of the Bridal Chamber, on which the Guests first casting their looks, leave the impression of any secret Magick which may issue from their eyes, to the prejudice or misfortune of the Married couple; for in the Eastern parts of the world they hold that there is a strange fascination innate to the eyes of some people, which looking attentively on any, as commonly they do on the Bridegroom and the Bride in Marriages, produce macerations and imbecillity in the body, and have an especial quality contrary to procreation: and therefore when the Guests are entred, having the Malignity of their eyes Arrested on these Statues,

Statues, they afterwards cut them down and dissolve them.

And that it may the more plainly appear what points of Religion are most controverted amongst them, and what Anathema's and Curses are by both sides vented each against the other; this following sentence past by the *Musti Esad Efendi*, upon *Schah Abbas* Tutor to the King of Persia called *Sari Halife*, and all the *Persians*, will be a sufficient testimony and evidence of the enmity and hatred that is between these two Nations; an extract of which is here drawn from the Book it self licensed and approved at *Constantinople*.

If you had (says he) no other Heresie then the rejection of those elevated familiars of *Mahomet*, viz. *Omar*, *Osman* and *Ebbubecher*, your crime would notwithstanding be so great as were not expiable by a thousand years of prayer or pilgrimage in the sight of God; but you would be condemned to the bottomless Abyss of Hell, and deprived for ever of Celestial Bliss; and this sentence of mine is confirmed by the same opinion of the four *Imams*, viz. *Imam Azem*, *Imam Schafi*, *Imam Malick*, and *Imam Hambeli*; and therefore I friendly admonish you to correct this error in your selves, and likewise in your Scholar King *Abbas*.

Nor are you contented to pass with this single error, whereby you have gained the name of *Kyzilbaschi*, that is, *Persian* Hereticks, but you are become as abominable as the *Durzi* (a people that lives about Mount *Libanus*) of bad esteem and reputation, corrupted in all points of Doctrine and manners; so that I cannot but pass this black sentence upon you, that it is lawful in a Godly zeal to kill and destroy you for the Service of God; your Tenents being refuted by *Giafer Efendi*, who hath branded the *Persians* for *Pagans*, and in seventy several places of the *Alchoran*, and the very words of *Mahomet* demonstrated the clearness of their error.

If the Christian only for saying there is a Trinity in God is condemned for Life and Estate, why should the *Persian* expect better quarter, who is stigmatized for Heresie in seventy places of the *Alchoran*? And one of your detestable opinions of the first rank is,

That you esteem your selves obliged to assemble at the *Moschs*, but not to prayers: for what signifies your meeting, if not to prayers? *Mahomet* himself says, that he who repairs to the Congregation without a design of prayer, is a Hypocrite and a Dissembler, is accursed of God, nor shall be blessed in his House or Estate, the good Angels shall abandon him, the Devils shall attend him, nor shall he ever prosper in this world, or in the world to come.

In answer hereunto you say, that the antient Order of Priests is extinct, that you have none whose pious lives enable to preach and instruct you, or to be your leader to holy prayer in the Publick Assembly. Do there want pious and holy persons of the race of *Mahomet*? if there do not, why do not you imitate and follow them? but you are Enemies, and in open Hostility to the *Mahometan* Family, and excuse your selves from the use of Priests or *Imams*, because their innocence cannot equal that of Infants. In this point (it is true) you have something of reason; for your *Imams* are not only Infidels in Doctrine, but defiled in their conversation; and your King who is your High-Priest, frequents Stews and the Styes of deformed Lust, ravishing fair and

and chaste Wives from the embraces of their Husbands; and that publicly in the face of the world, maintaining concubinage with them. And where the example of a Prince makes such things lawful, his Subjects, whether Souldiers or Lawyers, will make no scruple to imitate his actions.

You deny the Verse called the Covering in the *Alchoran* to be authentick; you reject the eighteen Verses, which are revealed to us for the sake of the holy *Aische*.

Chapter so called.
The Wife of Mahomet so called.

At the *Abdest* or washing, you hold it not lawful to wash the bare feet, but only lightly strbak them over.

Your Mustachioes or hair on the upper lip you never cut, but the Beard on the Chin, which is the honest Ornament of a mans countenance, you cut and clip into what form you please.

That holy Colour of Green appropriated to the Banner of *Mahomet*, which ought only to adorn the nobler parts, you in despite to the honour of the Prophet, with an irreverent negligence, place it on your Shoes and Breeches.

Wine which is an abomination to the true observers of the Law, you drink freely of, without scruple of conscience; as also in Meats you make no distinction between clean and unclean, but use all with a like indifferency. In short, should I mention all those seventy points wherein you erre, and are without all comparison corrupt and erroneous, I should swell my writing to a Volume, and not attain my end, which is brevity.

Another sinful custom you permit amongst you, which is, for many men to be joyned to one Woman; for to whom of them can be appropriated the off-spring that is born? what Book have you, or Law, or example of any Nation to produce in approbation of this vile and unnatural custom? How vile must those Children be who are the issue of such Parents? that it is no wonder, there be none found amongst you worthy the holy Character of a Priest or a Judge.

But you cannot be so irrational, as to deny that the Assembling in *Moschs* to prayer, is necessary to Divine Service; *Mahomet* himself prayed together with the people, and sometimes preferred *Ebbecher* to celebrate the Divine Service, following him as others of the people did.

Why do not you ask your Pilgrims who come from *Mecha*, what mean these four Altars in the *Mosch*, which are the places of prayer designed to the four several Orthodox Sects? why take you not example from these? but you are still perverse and obstinate, haters of God and his Prophet; What will you answer at the day of Judgment before *Mahomet* and his four Friends? who long since being dead, you revive their Ashes with ignominy, erecting their Statues at your Marriages in Sugar, and afterwards in contempt hew them down to yield pastime and occasion of laughter to the Spouses and their Guests.

Was not the first converted to the Faith, *Ebbecher*?

Was not *Omar* the bravest Champion of the *Mahometan* Religion against the Christians?

Was not he who disposed and distinguished the Chapters of the *Alchoran*, the chaste *Osman*?

Was not the bravest and most Learned bearer of the *Zulfekar*, or the

R

Sword

Sword with two points, was it not *Hali*? And were not *Imam Hassan*, and *Imam Hussein*, Martyrs of the Faith in the Deserts of *Kerbela*?

That is, when the people are called to prayers from the Steeple.

Did not *Mahomet* say with his own mouth, *O Hali*, for thy sake there are two sorts of people predestinated to Hell? one that loves thee, and one that loves thee not. Are not you then that wear red Turbants much to be condemned, being of evil life and conversation, and not well inclined to the house of the Prophet, nor the family of the faithful, as it is written in the Book called *Aadick*? The Christians conserve the hoofs of that Ass on which Christ rode, and set them in cases of Gold and Silver; and esteem it an extream honour to have their Faces, Hands or Heads touched with so holy a relique. But you who profess your selves Disciples of the Prophet of God, and derived from the blood and family of his Friends, despise so glorious a Title, commanding after the repetition of your prayers, that is, after the *Ezan*, that Curses and Blasphemies be proclaimed against these holy Friends and Associates of the Prophet.

Besides this, your Books maintain and avouch it lawful to pillage, burn and destroy the Countries of the *Musselmans*, to carry their Wives and Families into slavery; and from a principle of Malice and Reproach to carry them naked through your Markets, and expose them to sale to any Chapman; *Pagans* themselves esteem not this honest nor decent, by which it is apparent that you are the most mortal and irreconcilable enemies to us of all the Nations in the world, you are certainly more cruel to us then the *Sezidi*, the *Kiasirs*, the *Zindiks*, then the *Durrians*; and in brief you are the Kennel of all uncleanness and sin; a Christian or a Jew may hope to become true Believers, but you can never.

Wherefore by virtue of that Authority I have received from *Mahomet* himself, in consideration of your misdeeds and incredulity, I pronounce it lawful for any one of what Nation soever, that is of the Believers, to kill, destroy and extirpate you; so that as he who slays a rebellious Christian, performs a meritorious action in the sight of God; much rather he who kills a *Persian*, shall obtain a reward seventy-fold from the fountain of Justice. And I hope that the Majesty of God in the day of Judgment will condemn you to be the Asses of the Jews, to be rode and hacknyed in Hell by that despised people; and that in a short time you will be exterminated both by us, the *Tartars*, the *Indians* and *Arabians* our Brothers and Associates in the same Faith.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Ancient Sects and Heresies amongst the Turks.

There are four Sects into which the *Mahometans* of the esteemed Orthodox belief are divided; and those are these.

The first is called *Haniffe*, which is professed in *Turky*, *Tartary*, *Eusebec*, and on the other side of *Jehun*, *Bactorus* and *Oxus*.

The second is *Shaffee*, whose Customs and Rules the *Arabians* follow.

The third is *Malechee*, to which *Tripoli*, *Tunis*, *Algier*, and other parts of *Africa* devote themselves.

The

The fourth is *Hambelle*, of which are but few, and is known only in some parts of *Arabia*.

These four are all accounted Orthodox, and are followers of certain Doctors (as we may say amongst Christians, Scholars of *St. Augustine*, *Thomas Aquinas*, *Dominicus*, or the like) and have only differences as to Ceremonies, postures in their prayers, washings, diversities in some points of their Civil Laws; and each maintains a charitable opinion of the other, as true Believers, and capable of entring into Paradise, if their life and conversation be regulated according to their Profession and Tenents.

All *Mahometans* according to the Countries wherein they live, come under the notion of one of these four preceding Professions; but yet are nominated with other names and differences of Sects, according as they follow the opinions which some Superstitious and Schismatical Preachers amongst them have vented; and those commonly known and marked with the names of ancient Heresies by the respective Opponents, which may properly be called so, because they are conversant in their Doctrines concerning the Attributes and Unity of God, his decrees and judgments, his promises and threatnings, and concerning prophecies and gifts of Faith, are especially these which stand in opposition each to other, viz.

<i>Moatazali</i>		<i>Sephatii</i>
<i>Kadari</i>	To	<i>Giabari</i>
<i>Morgii</i>		<i>Waidi</i>
<i>Shii</i>		<i>Chawarigi</i>

From each of these Sects, as from so many roots arise several Branches of different Doctrines, as according to the Tenents of the Turkish Doctors complete the number of seventy two.

Moatazali signifies as much as Separatists; the reason of which denomination, was from *Alhasan* the Scholar of *Wafel Ebn Atw*, the Author and Master of this Sect, to whom the question being proposed, Whether those who had committed a gross sin, were to be adjudged condemned and fallen from the Faith? the Scholar *Alhasan* instead of expecting the resolution of his Master, withdrew himself and began to interpret his sense thereof to his other Fellow-Disciples; from which withdrawing of himself they were afterwards denominated *Moatazali*, which is Separatists. But the name they give themselves is the Defenders of the Equity and Unity of God, in declaration of the manner of which they so differ amongst themselves, that they are divided into two and twenty Sects, which are maintained with that passion on all sides, that every party accuses his opposites of Infidelity. But the principle in which their wrangling Sophisters accord in common, is this; That God is eternal, and that eternity is an attribute most properly agreeable to his essence; but yet they reject the attribute it self, saying, that God is eternal, vvise, povverful and the like, by his ovvn entire and single essence; but yet they say, he is not eternal by his eternity, nor vvise by his vvifdom, nor povverful by his povver, for fear of admitting any multiplicity in the Deity, or incurring the like error as they say of the Christians, vvho divide and dishonour the Unity of God, by the

conceptions they frame of the three Persons in the Trinity. And if the Christians are to be blamed for introducing three Eternals, how much more are those who frame as many Eternals, as there are Attributes to the Deity?

Haietti.

Another sort derived from this Sect called *Haietti*, hold that Christ assumed a true and natural body, and was the Eternal and Incarnate, as the Christians profess; and in their *Credo* or Belief have inserted this Article, that Christ shall come to judge the world at the last day, and for proof hereof alledge an Authority out of the *Alchoran* in these words. Thou *Mahomet* shalt see thy Lord return in the Clouds: which though they fear exprelly in plain terms to interpret of Christ, yet they confidently affirm it to be prophesied of the *Messiah*, and in discourse confess that that *Messiah* can be no other than Christ; who shall return with the same humane flesh again into the world, Reign forty years on Earth, confound Antichrist, and afterwards shall be the end of the World.

4i.

Another sort of Professors of the Sect of *Moatazali*, are *Isi*, whose first Author was *Isa Merdad*; these maintain that the *Alchoran* was created contrary to the express word of *Mahomet*, who anathematizes all who are of this persuasion, saying, let him be reputed an Infidel, who believes the *Alchoran* created; for solution of which difficulty and to concur with the words of their Prophet, they say, that the *Alchoran* delivered by *Mahomet*, was but a Copy transcribed out of that wrote by God and laid in the Library of Heaven, and that when their Prophet denys the Creation of the *Alchoran*, he hath no reference to the Original, but to his own hand-writing which he had Copied, and extracted from that first, and infallible exemplar.

These also farther proceed to deny against the common Tenent of the *Mahometans*, the incomparable and Matchless Eloquence of the *Alchoran*; asserting that were it not prohibited, other *Arabians* might be found, who could far transcend every line of it in Wisdom and Rhetorick; which in my opinion is a strange kind of Impudence in the very face of their Prophet, who seems to be too proud of the exact disposition, and full signification of every word, that he judges it not less charming for the sweet sound of its Eloquence, then it is convincing for the purity and truth of its Doctrine.

Sephati.

The great Antagonists to the *Moatazali*, are the *Sephati*, who Assign in God Eternal Attributes of Knowledge, Power, Life, &c. And some of them proceed so far, and grossly herein, that they frame conceptions of corporeal Organs of Sense, as of Hearing, Seeing, and Speech to be in God, affirming that those expressions of Gods sitting in his Throne, Creation of the World by the work of his Hands, his Anger against Sin, Repentance for mans Conversion, which we call *ἀνθεκτικὴν*, are to be taken in the literal and plain sense, and have no need of farther fetched interpretations to clear the true notion of them: But yet herein their *Doctors* seem not to agree, some defining a body, to be the same as, *per se subsistens*, denying it to be an essential propriety of a body to be circumscribed and finite; others conclude that it is enough to say that God is great, without argument of his circumscription, or determination to any particular place, with many other strange conceits, whereby are made apparent the roving Fancies of Ignorant Men, with-

without the Rules or Grounds of *Philosophy*, or *Metaphysics*. But the soberer sort amongst them, who would appear more Moderate and Wiser than the rest, forbid their Scholars to make Comparison of the Senses in God, with those of the Creature, who being more subtly urged by their severe opponents the *Moatazali*; they were forced to declare themselves more plainly, in this manner, that the God which they worshipped was a Figure, Visible, and an Object of the Sight, consisting of parts Spiritual and Corporeal, to whom local Motion might be agreeable, but that his Flesh and Blood, his Eyes and Ears, his Tongue and Hands were not of any similitude with created substances, but were of another Crasis and Mixture which subjected them to no Distemper or Corruption; in proof whereof, they alledge the words of *Mahomet*, that God created Man after his own Likeness: And all other of those Examples drawn from the Holy Scriptures with which the *Alchoran* is filled, and where in familiar expressions, the Divinity is pleased to condescend to the infirmity of Humane Capacity.

The next Sect is that of the *Kadari*, who deny wholly the Divine Decree or Predestination, affirming that every man is a free Agent, from whose will as from the first principle all good and bad actions flow and are derived, so that as with just reason God Crowns mans good works with the Rewards of Bliss and Felicity; so on the other side justly punishes his evil actions in this world, and in the next to come; and this they style the Doctrine of Equity, and define it to be a measure of mans actions, according to the rectitude and disposition of that right line, which the prime Intellect hath drawn out by wisdoms proportion. This opinion is absolutely rejected as heterodox in the *Mahometan* Religion; and yet it is not fully determined how *Mahomet* moderated in the dispute between *Adam* and *Moses*, whom an *Arabian* Doctor comically introduced, pleading and justifying themselves before God. *Moses* beginning first, reproached *Adam*, that he was one immediately created by the proper hand of God, in whom the Divine Nature breathed the breath of Life, whom Angels were made to adore, placed and seated in Paradise, and fortified with actual graces against the enormities and crooked irregularities of inferiour affections; from which happy state that he should fall and precipitate mankind, together with himself, his crime was aggravated with all the degrees of his former perfection. *Adam* to excuse himself, replied in this manner. Thou *Moses* whom God hath called to a familiar parley, revealed his Will and Pleasure unto in those engraven Tables, where all Morality and Virtue is contained, resolve me this one Quære and difficult Probleme, how many years before I was created, dost thou find that the Law was wrote? *Moses* answered forty. And did you find, reply'd *Adam*, that *Adam* rebelled against his Lord and sinned? to which *Moses* answering in the affirmative, do you blame me then said he for executing that which God forty years before predestinated and designed me unto? and not only forty years, but many Myriads of Ages before either the Heavens or Earth were framed. *Mahomet* confounded, as the *Kadari* report with this Argument, left the question undetermined, though his followers, as men are most prone to error generally, entertain the contrary Tenent.

Ebnol Arbir
Mr. Pocock
Nota de Moribus Arabum,

The great Enemies diametrically opposed to these are the *Jabari* or *Jabari*.
Giabari;

Giabari; vvho maintain that a man hath no povver over his Will or Actions, but is vvholly moved by a Superiour Agent, and that God hath a povver over his creatures, to design them to Happines or to Misery, as seems best to his divine pleasure; but in the explication of this opinion they proceed in the most rigorous manner, and say that man is vvholly necessitated and compelled in all his actions; that neither his Will, nor Povver, nor Election is in himself; and that God creates in him his actions, as he doth in Inanimate and Vegetable creatures the first principle of their Life and Essence; and as the Tree may be said to produce Fruit, the Water to run, the Stone to move downvvards, so are the actions in man, for vvwhich yet there is a revvard and a punishment properly and necessarily allotted. This point is very subtly controverted by the *Arabian* Doctors, to vvwhich hovv the *Turks* are addicted, vve shall farther discourse in the Chapter of Predestination.

Morgi.

The Sect of *Morgi*, are the great Favourers and Patrons of the *Mahometan* Religion, maintaining that a *Musselman* or Believer though guilty of the grossest sins, is not punished for them in this vvorld, nor receives his absolution or condemnation after death, until the day of Resurrection and Judgment: and farther, that as impiety vvith the true belief shall never be punished; so piety and good vvorks proceeding from a false and erroneous faith, is of no validity or povver conducing to the fruition of the joys of Paradise. And to these may not improperly be compared some Sectaries in *England*, who have vented in their Pulpits that God sees no sin in his Children; and that the infidelity of *Sarah*, being of the house of the faithful, is more acceptable to God, than the Alms, Prayers, and Repentance of an erroneous Believer without the Pale and Covenant of grace.

Waidi.

The opposite Sect to these are the *Waidi*, who esteem that a man fallen into any great or mortal sin, is put into the condition of a deserter of his faith; and though he be a professor of the true Belief, shall yet without recovery for ever be punished in Hell; but yet that his torments shall be in a more remis degree than that of Infidels: But that opinion which in this point is esteemed Orthodox amongst the *Turks*, is this, That a sinner in a high nature going out of this vvorld without repentance, is vvholly to be committed to the pleasure of God, either to pardon him for his mercy, or for the intercession of the Prophet *Mahomet*, according to what he saith in the *Alchoran*, My intercession shall be for those of my own people who have greatly sinned; that being first punished according to the measure of their iniquity, they may afterwards in compassion be received into Paradise; for it is impossible they should for ever remain in the eternal flames vvith the Infidels; because it is revealed to us, that vvhosoever hath but the weight of an Atom remaining in his heart of faith, shall in due time be released from fiery torments; for vvwhich cause some Sects amongst the *Turks* use Prayers for the dead, and place their Cemiteries always by the side of High-ways, that Passengers may be remembred of their own Mortality, and pray for the souls of those departed; of vvwhich we shall have occasion to discourse hereafter. The fictions the *Mahometans* frame of Hell, are as ridiculous as those they fancy of Paradise; For they imagine when they shall be called by *Mahomet* from this Purgatory at the day of judgment, the way to him is over Iron Bars red hot vvith Fire, over which

Chap.

which they must pass with naked Feet; only the Paper which they in their life-time have taken from the ground, and conserved from being trampled on by the Feet of Men or Beasts, shall at that day be strowed on the Bars of this hot passage, that they may pass that fire Ordeal with less torment; which is the reason the *Turks* see no small piece of Paper on the ground, but they immediately stoop for it, and place it in some secret corner of a Wall, to redeem that (as they say) from the dishonour of mens feet, on which the name of God is or may be wrote, and with expectation to enjoy the benefit promised, when the soles of their feet shall try the intense heat of this burning Iron. The same respect also they shew to Rose-leaves, in consideration (as they believe) that a Rose was produced from the sweat of *Mahomet*.

The *Shii* are the Sect spoken of before, opposed by the Subjects of the whole *Ottoman* Empire, as the most heretical of any of the rest, in regard they prefer *Ali* before *Mahomet* in the prophetic Office, and restrain the prophetic gift to the natural line derived from *Ali*, and that none is worthy of the Title of a Prophet, who is guilty of sin, though of the lower nature; some of which Professors called *Almofairi*, *Almofairi*, affirm that God appeared in the form of *Ali*, and with his tongue proclaimed the most hidden Mysteries of Religion; and some have proceeded yet farther, to attribute to their Prophets divine honours, asserting them to be elevated above degree and state of the creatures: these expect the return of their Prophet *Ali* in the Clouds, and have placed that belief as an Article of their Faith, from whence may seem to be grounded that mistake amongst our vulgar, that the *Turks* believe *Mahomet* shall again return into the world.

To the foregoing are opposed the *Chawarigi*, who deny that there is or hath been such Function as that of a Prophet, allowed by God in any particular person; nor any ever sent into the world endued with that power of Infallibility, to resolve doubts, and teach and impose a new Law on Mankind; but if at any time such an Office should be necessary, it can never be restrained to one lineage; for the person being faithful and just, no matter whether he be a Servant or free, a * *Nabatbean* or a * *Koraschite*.

* One of the vulgar or rude sort amongst the *Arabians*.

These are ancient Sects amongst the professors of the *Mahometan* Religion, out of which are arose so many others as by the confession of the *Turkish* Doctors complete the number of seventy three. But because the accurate search into so many is of little delight or profit to the Reader, I shall content my self with having given him a taste of these foregoing, learning him to guess at the rest in what manner the fancy of a man can frame deductions from the foregoing premises; and shall now give an account how busie these modern times have been at *Constantinople* in hammering out strange forms and chimera's of Religion, the better to acquit *England* from the accusation of being the most subject to religious innovations, the world attributing much thereof to the air and constitution of its Climate.

* One of a noble family amongst the *Arabians*.

CHAP. XII.

Concerning the New and Modern Sects amongst the Turks.

That called
Zeidi, is one
of the latter
edition.

Derived from
the Moatezeli.

Malumigee.

Menxachulia.

Jabaiab.

ALL Ages and times have produced their Sects and Heresies in every Religion; and therefore we shall proceed in declaring some few that are of a fresher date than those in the foregoing Chapter, and so shall continue to descend to others which this present Age hath begot. Zeidi maintains that God will send a Prophet of the *Persians* with a Law by which shall be annulled the Law of *Mabomet*.

A second to this is derived from the *Moatezeli*, that denies any man can be stiled a Saint in this world, excepting the Prophets, who were without sin; and that the true Believers shall in the next world see God as clearly as we see the Moon at full; against the Doctrine of *Mabomet*, who says God is invisible either to us in this world, or the next.

There are also those called *Malumigee*, who maintain God is perfectly to be known in this world; and that by the Doctrine of *Cognosce teipsum*, the creature proceeds to the perfect knowledge of his Creator.

The Opponents to these are *Menxachulia*, who hold, that they which know God only in this world by some glimmerings and rays of his glory and essence, is sufficient to lead them into Paradise, and rank them in the number of the faithful.

Another sort there are called *Jabaiab*, which denies Gods Omniscience, affirming, That God governs the world by chance and accidents, not comprehending from Eternity or at the Creation of the world, a perfect certainty of the particular affairs that were to be transacted in it, and that God improves in knowledge by time, as men do by constant practice and experience.

We shall not insist here to multiply many of these Sects, who have almost as many diversities amongst the *Turks*, as there are Schools and Masters; every *Hogia* that is but a form above a meer Pedagogue, and reads a few Books of the *Anabian* Fables, esteems himself of mean account, if by some singular opinion which he instills into his Disciples, he distinguishes not his Gymnasium from the common and inferiour Schools. But these men in framing their particular fancies, and venting their follies have a special care that none of their principles oppose those five points of practice, and one of faith, mentioned in the first Chapter of this Book, which are the essential points that constitute a *Mahometan*; or derogate from the Authority of their Governours, or produce factions or disturbances in the State.

But these modern times have produced other Sects amongst the *Turks*, some of which seem in part dangerous, and apt to make a considerable rupture in their long continued union; when time changes and revolutions of State shall animate some turbulent spirits, to gather Souldiers and followers under these Doctrines and other specious pretences.

Kadezadeli.

One of which is called *Kadezadeli*, a Sect sprung up in the time of
Sultan

Sultan Morat, whose chief propagator was one *Birgali Effendi*, who invented many Ceremonies in praying for the souls departed, at the burial of the dead. Those that are of this Sect cause their *Imams* to cry loud in the ears of the inanimate body, to remember that God is one, and his Prophet one. Those who are principally devoted to this Sect, are the *Russians* and other sort of Renegado Christians, who amongst their confused, and almost forgotten notions of the Christian Religion, retain a certain Memory of the particulars of Purgatory, and prayers for the dead.

But the opinion esteemed Orthodox, and most generally allowed amongst the *Turks*, is, That no *Mahometan* goes eternally to Hell, but after a certain space of years is delivered thence, and passes into Paradise; After death they assigne two sorts of punishments; the first is called *Azabe-Kaberi*, or the punishment of the Grave, which being the bed of wicked men, binds with its Earth so fast as it crushes their bones, and shuts the pores and crevices through which they should see into heaven; but the bodies of good men enjoy the comfort of having a window from their dark inclosures, to behold the Vision of Gods glory. The other is the pain of Hell, where the souls remain until their torments are accomplished, and Divine Justice satisfied.

There is an opinion of late years principally maintained amongst the Gallants of the *Seraglio*, and common in *Constantinople*, the professors of which are called *Chupmessahi*, or the good followers of the *Messiah*. *Chupmessahi*. These maintain that Christ is God and Redeemer of the world; the young Scholars in the Grand Signiors Court are generally devoted to this Tenent, especially those which are the most courteous, affable and best disposed, that it is grown into a Proverb amongst them, when they would commend and praise gentleness and courtesie of each others nature, they do it with the expression of *Chupmessahisen*, as if they would say, You are gentle, accomplished and excessive in your favours as becomes one who professes the *Messiah*. Of this sort of people there are great numbers in *Constantinople*, some of which have so boldly asserted this Doctrine, that they have suffered Martyrdom under this denomination, which is still maintained, and secretly professed by such multitudes as wear white Turbants, that upon some notable opportunity were this cause and Religion made the ground of some Toleration and Insurrection amongst its Disciples and professors, it might take an unexpected footing, and prepare a ready way for the Plantation of the Gospel: but of this we shall speak more hereafter in its due place.

And because it is our intent here to declare the several Religions amongst the *Turks*, it will not be from our purpose to mention how far Atheism hath spread itself in these Countries; and as Logicians illucidate one contrary with another, and Painters set off the Whiteness of their Colours with a foil of Jet, or other Blackness; so the privation of all Religion is not unaptly placed in the same Chapter with the various and different professors of it.

These then give themselves the Title of *Muferin*, which signifies, The true secret is with us; which secret, is no other then the absolute denial of a Deity, that nature or the intrinsecal principal in every individual thing directs the orderly course which we see and admire; and that

that the Heavens, Sun, Moon and Stars have thence their Original and motion, and that man himself rises and fades like the grass or flower; It is strange to consider, what quantities there are of men that maintain this principle in *Constantinople*, most of which are *Kadees* and learned men in the *Arabian* Legends, and others are Renegadoes from the Christian faith, who conscious of the sin of their Apostacy, and therefore desirous that all things may conclude with this world, are the more apt to entertain those opinions which come nearest to their wishes. One of this Sect called *Mahomet Effendi*, a rich man, Educated in the knowledge of the Eastern Learning, I remember, was in my time executed for impudently proclaiming his blasphemies against the being of a Deity; making it in his ordinary discourse, an argument against the being of a God, for that either there was none at all, or else not so wise as the Doctors preached he was, in suffering him to live who was the greatest enemy and scorner of a Divine essence that ever came into the world. And it is observable, that this man might notwithstanding his accusation have saved his life, would he but have confessed his error, and promised for the future an assent to the principles of a better: but he persisted still in his blasphemies, saying, That though there were no reward, yet the love of truth obliged him to dye a Martyr. I must confess until now, I never could believe that there was a formal Atheism in the world, concluding that the principle (of the being of a God) was demonstrable by the light of nature; but it is evident now how far some men have extinguished this light and lamp in their souls.

This poisonous Doctrine is so Infectious, that it is crept into the Chambers of the *Seraglio*, into the apartments of the Ladies and Eunuchs, and found entertainment with the *Pashas* and their whole Court; this sort of people are great favourers and lovers of their own Sect, courteous and hospitable to each other, and if any by chance receives a Guest within his Gates of their own judgement, besides his Diet and Fare with much freedom, he is accommodated with a handsome Bed-fellow of which Sex he most delights: they are very frank and liberal, and excessive in their readiness to do each other service; It is said, that *Sultan Morat* was a great favourer of this opinion in his Court and Militia, desirous withal to propagate that of *Kadizadeli* amongst the vulgar, that they being a severe, morose and covetous people, might grow rich, and spare for the benefit of his Exchequer; for the Sect of *Kadizadeli* before mentioned, is of a melancholy and Stoical temper, admitting of no Musick, chearful or light discourses, but confine themselves to a set Gravity; in publick as well as private they make a continual mention of God, by a never-wearied repetition of these words, *Ilabe ila Ellah*; that is, I profess there is one God: there are some of these that will sit whole nights bending their bodies towards the Earth, reciting those words with a most doleful and lamentable Note: they are exact and most punctual in the observation of the rules of Religion, and generally addict themselves to the study of their Civil Law, in which they use constant exercises in arguing, opposing and answering, whereby to leave no point undiscovered or not discussed. In short, they are highly Pharisaical in all their comportment, great admirers of themselves, and scornors of others that conform not

to their Tenets, scarce affording them a salutation or common communication; they refuse to marry their Sons with those of a different rite, but amongst themselves they observe a certain policy; they admonish and correct the disorderly; and such who are not bettered by their persuasions, they reject and excommunicate from their Society. These are for the most part Tradesmen, whose sedentary life affords opportunity and nutriment to a melancholy, and distempered fancy.

But those of this Sect who strangely mix Christianity and *Mahometanism* together, are many of the Souldiers that live on the confines of *Hungary* and *Bosna*; reading the Gospel in the *Sclavonian* tongue, with which they are supplied out of *Moravia*, and the neighbouring City of *Ragusa*; besides which, they are curious to learn the Mysteries of the *Alchoran*, and the Law of the *Arabick* tongue; and not to be accounted rude and illiterate they affect the Courtly *Persian*. They drink wine in the month of Fast called the *Ramazan*, but to take off the scandal they refuse Cinnamon or other Spices in it, and then call it *Hardali*, and passes current for lawful liquor. They have a Charity and Affection for Christians, and are ready to protect them from Injuries and Violences of the *Turks*: They believe yet that *Mahomet* was the Holy Ghost promised by Christ; and that the descending of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost was a Figure and Type of *Mahomet*, interpreting in all places the word *πνεῦμα*, to signify their Propheet, in whose ear so often the White Dove revealed the Infallible directions to happiness. The *Potures* of *Bosna* are all of this Sect, but pay Taxes as Christians do; they abhor Images and the sign of the Cross; they circumcise, bringing the Authority of Christs example for it, which also the *Copticks*, a Sect of the *Greek Church* in *Egypt* imitated; but have now, as I am informed, lately disused that custom.

Potures a people of Bosna.

Another subtle point about the Divine Attributes hath begot a Sect amongst the *Janizaries*, called *Bektaschi* from one *Becktasch*, which seems an improper subject so deep in the Metaphysical speculation to trouble such gross heads as theirs; they began (as it is said) in the time of *Solyman* the Magnificent, and are called by some *Zerati*; that is, those who have Copulation with their own kindred, and by the vulgar, *Mumscanduren*, or extinguishers of the Candle. This Sect observe the Law of *Mahomet* in Divine Worship, with a strictness and superstition above any of the Precisians of that Religion: but hold it unlawful to adjoyn any attributes to God, by saying that God is great, or God is merciful, by reason that the nature of God being infinite and incomprehensible, cannot fall under the weak and imperfect conceptions of mans understanding, which can imagine nothing applicable to his nature. Of this Sect there was a famous Poet amongst the *Turks* called *Nemisi*, that was dead alive, for saying, when the *Eman* called the people to prayers at the ordinary hours from the Steeple with the usual word, *Allah Ekber*, God is one, that he lyed, upon the supposition that no Epithete can be predicated of the Divine Essence. Amongst the *Janizaries* are at present many principal Commanders of this Sect; but formerly were more in the time of *Becktasch*, *Aga*, *Kul Kahya*, *Mahomet Aga*, and others, who for their Rebellion in *Constantinople*, (as we related before) were put to death under the Historical Pillar in the time of this present Emperours Minority. These people against the instinct of nature use Car-

nal Copulation promiscuously with their own Kindred, the Fathers mixing with their Sons and Daughters, without respect to proximity of blood or nearness in the degrees of relation, suffering themselves to be transported contrary, to the abhorrency of Nature, by a weak and illogical comparison of the lawfulness and reason, that he who engrafted the Tree, and planted the Vine should rather taste of the Fruit, then resign the benefit of his labours to the enjoyment of others; and in this Argument act against the inclination of innate modesty, according to that of *Seneca*.

*Fera quoque ipsæ Veneris evitant nefas,
Generisque leges inscius servat pudor.*

These people are easily induced to give false witness or testimony in the favour of their Sect, without consideration of Equity or reasonableness of their cause; by which means invading the right of others they became rich and powerful, until they were debased by the deprivation of *Becktasches* Authority, and Power of other potent favourers of their Sect: and though afterwards upheld by *Sudgi Beker*, a Standard Bearer of the *Janizaries*, a rich and learned man, they received a second blow by his death, he executed by a Visier *Kupriuli Mahomet*, for his diversity in Religion and Wealth together; but farther animosity against this Sect was dissembled at that time, by reason of the multitude of those professors in *Constantinople*, and because reason of State saw it at that time necessary to draw blood in many parts of the Empire for other causes, then for Errors in Religion.

The Sect called *Sabin*, though *Mahometans* in profession, seem yet to run contrary to the stream and general consent of all its professors who give themselves commonly the Title of Enemies and Confounders of Idolatry, and yet these notwithstanding seem from the influence, the Sun and Moon have on sublunary bodies, of all living sensitive creatures to conclude a certain Divinity in those common lights of the world. In *Constantinople* there are some few Astrologers and Physicians of this Sect, but in *Parthia* and *Media* they are numerous, the men commonly worshipping the Sun, and the women the Moon, and others the Artick Pole; they are not strict in a severity of life, or in the conformity to the prescriptions of their Law, but govern themselves with morality and prudence. They are not apt to believe the immortality of the soul, nor the reward of Vertue, or punishment of Vice in the next world; nor prone to vindicate themselves from injuries, reproachful language, or other evil actions of men, but regarding them as the natural effects of the Celestial influences, are no more provoked by them than we are with a shower of rain for wetting us, or the intense heat of the Sun in the Summer Solstice.

Munafih is a Sect purely Pythagorical, which believes the Metempsychosis or Transmigration of souls, of which there are some in *Constantinople*, one *Albertus Bobovius* a *Polonian* by Nation, but Educated in the *Seraglio*, and instructed in all the Learning of the *Turkish* Literature (from whom I freely confess to have received many of my observations) related to me a pleasant discourse that passed between him and a Dorgist at *Constantinople*, touching this subject. This Dorgist being
Learned,

Learned, was the occasion that *Albertus* frequented his Shop the oftener; and once being after some familiar acquaintance at a collation together, it chanced that a Black Dog giving them interruption at their Banquet, that *Albertus* kicked him to drive him to a farther distance; at which the Dorgist growing pale and disordered, *Albertus* guessed by his countenance that he was displeased at his unkindness towards the Dog; and therefore desired his pardon if thereby he had given him any subject of offence: the Dorgist being thus pacified with the courtesy of his Guest, advised him to ask pardon of God, for that it was no small crime and sin that he thereby committed. This happening at the same time that the Funerals of a *Mufti* called *Behai Efend*, were then solemnizing, afforded an occasion of discourse concerning the soul of the *Mufti* and Dog together; the Dorgist demanding the opinion of his Guest, whether he conceived the soul of that *Mufti* was predestinated to remain within the confines of the Grave, until the day of Resurrection? in the knowledge of which question *Albertus* seeming wholly ignorant, and desirous to understand the solution from him; the Dorgist began freely to declare that the souls of men deceased enter into the Bodies of Beasts, which are in temperament most agreeable to the dispositions of those whom before they animated; as the soul of the glutton enters into the Swine, the soul of the lascivious into the Goat, of the generous into the Horse, of the vigilant into a Dog, and so the like; in proof of which he produced a Book treating of all the distinctions of nature, and the proper assignments for their habitation after death: adding moreover, that of this opinion it was pity there were so few in *Constantinople*, some there were, and those all of his own Trade and Profession, but that at *Gran Cairo* were great numbers, strict adherers to this Doctrine; that for his part he prayed to God with the rest of his Brothers of the same Trade, that their souls may hereafter be so honoured as to inform the body of the *Camel*; because they are Beasts that are laborious, abstemious, patient and meek, and bring their Dorges from the remotest parts of the East: and that he did not doubt but after the Circle of 3365. years, that his soul had travelled for several Ages through the world, and wandred from the body of one *Camel* to animate another; it should with the vicissitude of time return again to a humane body, more purified and refined than in its first principles. And this was the *Credo* of the Dorgist, to which opinion it is said all *China* is greatly devoted.

Efchraki, which signifies illuminated, is a Sect purely Platonical, contemplative of the Divine *Idea*, and the number in God; for though they hold the Unity, yet they deny not the Trinity, as a number proceeding from the Unity; which conception of theirs they usually illustrate by three folds in a Handkerchief, which may have the denomination of three; but being extended, is but one entire piece of Linnen. These men are no great admirers of the composition of the *Alchoran*; what they meet therein agreeable to their principles, they embrace and produce as occasion serves in confirmation of their Doctrine; other parts which with difficulty are reconciled they reject, and stile abrogated: and because they apprehend that the true beatitude and bliss of Paradise consists in the contemplation of the Divine Majesty, they condemn all the fancies and gross conceptions of Hea-

In Turkish
Mensuca.

ven,

called in
Turkish *Habi*
and *Resphi*.

ven, which *Mahomet* hath framed to allure and draw the minds of rude and gross men. Of this Sect are all the *Scheghs* or able Preachers that belong to the Royal *Moschs* or Churches; who are men constant in their devotions, abstemious in their Diet, of a chearful countenance, and taking behaviour, great lovers of Harmony and Musick, and of an indifferent strain in Poetry, whereby they compose certain Songs in Meeter, for entertainment of their Auditory. They are likewise generous and compassionate of humane frailty; and are not covetous, Stoical, or conceited of themselves, by which means their behaviour is rendered extreamly taking through all *Constantinople*; they are greatly delighted with an ingenious Aspect in youth, and from thence gather matter of contemplation on the comeliness of the increated beauty: they are addicted to entertain a charitable affection for their neighbour, because (as they say) he is the creature of God, from whom our love is converted to the Creator. Their Disciples they procure as much as possible, to be men of comely and pleasing countenances and Majestick presence, who they instruct in all the rules of abstinence, gravity, and other virtues most appropriated to their Sect. And these of all sorts of *Turks* seem worthy of the best Character, whom I compassionate, for not being born within the pale of a Christian Church, nor duly instructed in the Mystery of Christianity, to which they seem by their morality and virtues already to have prepared many previous dispositions.

A Sect much different to that immediately foregoing is the *Haireti*, signifying amazed, and doubtful in determination of all controversies, who can endure any thing rather than to controvert opinions, and dispute on question in chase of truth: they will neither undertake to perswade or dissuade; but like the Academicks affirm that falsity may by the wit and contrivance of man be dressed in a habit as not to be distinguished from truth it self; and on the contrary, truth may be so disguised with Sophistry and delusions as to be rendred as deformed and ugly, as falshood, and therefore they conclude all questions to be merely probable, and no ways admitting of certain demonstration; so that in points of dubious controversies their common sayings are, *Allah Bilur*, God knows, *bize karanuk*, it is unknown to us, and such like expressions favouring of negligence and a brutish want of curiosity to search into the studies of Art and Science. Of this Sect some notwithstanding are Preachers, and from that degree are promoted to the office of *Mufti*, in which they behave themselves according to their affected carelesness, with a readiness and facility to subscribe all sentences to the satisfaction, and in favour of the demandant; adding for the most part these words, *Well abu ealem bissenah*, God knows that which is best. As to the manner of their life and practice, they are punctual observers of the rites of the *Mahometan* Religion and constitutions of their civil Law, but much incline to yield to the course of their own nature, and the force of passion; they drink Wine not to appear Cynical or unfociable, but more generally addict themselves to Electuaries composed of *Opium*, which tends to augment their natural stupefaction; and when they are overcome with the obscurity of this vapour, whatsoever you affirm though never so contradictory, they readily assent to, not so much (as they confess) from a perswasion to one proposition

position more than another, but of a pleasing compliance to their companions, which humour the nature of their Sect allows of. And though they stile the *Eschraki* Dogmatical and obstinate opinators; yet by experience it is observed that the *Musties* Educated in the *Eschrakian* Schools have been much more fortunate than those of the *Hairetian* Sect; because the former having a certain foundation of principles, have been cautious in signing *Fetvas*, or delivering their Sentence in the resolution of weighty Matters of State, choosing rather to renounce their Office, than their reason. But the others being negligent and incurious in their determinations, as if fortune did direct them more to the true part than solidity of judgement; have been always free and open in their Sentences; by which means events of State falling out unhappily, and the miscarriage attributed to the council of the *Mufti*, they have been oftner subject to the punishment of banishment or death than their Opponents.

We shall not proceed to swell this Work with a longer Catalogue of these Sects, lest we should seem over-tedious to the Reader, and instead of pleasing his Palate, should over-charge his Stomach; otherwise we might proceed to recite as many Sects as there are Towns or Schools in the Empire, in every one of which some pragmatistical Preacher or other have always started a new opinion, which can never want Disciples. And certainly the diversity of opinions in *Turky* is almost infinite, and more numerous than in *England*, or other parts of Christendom, though commonly not proceeding from the same malice, nor laid with the same design to the prejudice of the State: the reason of this variety amongst the *Turks* I attribute to the many Religions which voluntarily, and for interest or by force have entered into the *Mahometan* superstition, many of which being *Grecians*, and instructed in the Arts and Sciences with which that Empire once flourished, which was the Mine and Treasury of Philosophy and Learning, did afterwards mix with their new Religions (not being wholly satisfied with the *Alchoran*) certain Traditions and Opinions of the ancient Philosophers: And several other Nations, as *Russians*, *Muscovites*, *Chircassians*, and the like, retaining some few remembrances of their first Notions and Principles, make a farther addition to this ill compounded medley, which also receiving some difference and variety as they encreased and were propagated, have multiplied to a number both unprofitable and tedious to search farther into.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Dervises.

IT is commonly known and received, that the *Turkish* Religion is an absurd composition of the Christian and Jewish Rites; in imitation of the former of which doubtless their Monasteries and Orders of religious men were introduced; most of which incline to a pretended mortification and strictness of life; to poverty, and renuntiation of the worlds enjoyments, according to the devotion of Christians a thousand years

years past, whose piety and exemplary lives drew Infidels to extract a rough Copy of their elevated vertues.

I have been the more curious in making an exact enquiry into the Customs, Institutions and Doctrines of the *Mahometan* Convents, because I find relations hereof sparingly scattered in other Books, and that obscurely without punctuality or certainty: But I shall promise my Reader to deliver nothing herein, but what I have good Authority for, and taken from the mouth of the most Learned of their *Seighs* or Preachers, which are the Heads or Superiours of these Societies.

The Doctors of the *Mahometan* Law inform me, that their Religious houses and Institutions, are as ancient as *Mahomet*, from whom general orders and instructions were derived for their œconomy, first to his Disciple *Hali*; but our *Turkish History* and other Records make no mention of these Monasteries, till within these three hundred and fifty years, in the time of *Orchanes* second King of the *Turks*, who is famed to have been the first founder of Houses of these Orders.

Those of the *Mahometan* Faith, who first framed rules and institutions for these Religions, were two, viz. *Chalvettée* and *Nackjbendee*, which after *Mahomet* are esteemed the two Fountains from whence other Orders are proceeded, which are these following; from *Chalvettée* are derived

Nimetulahi from *Nimetula*
Kadri from *Kadri*
Kalenderi from *Kalendar*
Edbemi from *Edbem*
Hizrevi from *Hizr*
Bektassee from *Bektas*.

} The first Founders and Masters of these Orders.

From *Nackjbendee* proceed only two, viz.

Ebrubaree from *Ebrubhar*
Meveleee from *Mevelava*.

} Their Original Founders.

These several Orders we shall distinctly touch upon, beginning with the *Meveleee*, which though set down here last, yet because for fame amongst the *Turks*, they are the first, we shall most largely and particularly treat of them.

The *Meveleee*, otherwise and most commonly named *Derwîse*, which word signifies Poor and renouncers of the world, have their chief and Superiour foundation in *Iconium*, which consists of at the least four hundred *Derwîses*, and governs all the other Convents of that Order within the *Turkish* Empire, by vertue of a Charter given them by *Ottoman* first of the *Mahometan* Kings, who out of devotion to their Religion once placed their Prior or Superiour in his Royal Throne, because having been his Tutor, and he who girted on his Sword (which is the principal Ceremony of Coronation) he granted him and his successors ample Authority and Rule over all others of the same Profession.

Their Superiour.

Their Postures.

They pretend to great Patience, Humility, Modesty, Charity and Silence,

Silence in presence of their Superiour or others; their eyes are always fixed downwards, their heads hanging towards their breast, and their bodies bending forwards.

Their shirts are of the coarsest Linnen can be made, with a White Plad or Mantle about their shoulders: but most wear a loose kind of Garment made of Wool at *Iconium* or in *Anatolia*, of a dark colour; their Caps or what they wear on their heads, is like the Crown of a Hat of the largest size, made of coarse *Camels* hair of a whitish colour; their Legs are always bare, and their Breasts open, which some of them burn or scar in token of greater devotion: they wear also a Leather girdle with some shining stone upon the Buckle before, either of Marble or Alabaster, Porphyry, Ivory, or some thing that makes a great shew or luster.

Their
Cloathing.



The Prior over a Convent of
Dervises

The Habit of Dervises

Besides their Fast of *Ramazan*, they keep a weekly Fast on every *Thursday*, on which day, none unleis for some indisposition of health or other lawful cause, hath license to eat, until after Sun-setting.

Every *Tuesday* and *Friday* the Superiour of the Convent makes a Sermon or exposition of some Verses in the *Alchoran*, or out of the

T

Books

Their turning
round.

Books wrote by their Founder, or some other prime Doctor of the *Mahometan* Law; after which is done, the *Dervises* with marvellous modesty and reverence bowing to their Superiour, begin to turn round, some of them with that swift motion, that their faces can scarce be seen; a certain Pipe made of a Cane, sounding all the time of this motion; and on a sudden when the Musick ceases, they all stop with that exactness and firmness, shewing no symptoms of a disordered or swimming brain; to which having accustomed themselves from their infancy or youth, in some years that motion becomes as natural, with as little disturbance to their Head or Stomach, as to walk forward, or to use any other exercise which nature is delighted with. This custom (they say) they observe with great devotion in imitation of their first Founder *Mevelana*, who for fourteen days together, and without taking any nourishment, used this Vertiginous motion by a miraculous assistance (his Friend *Hamze*, or Companion, all that time sounding by him with his Flute or Pipe) until at last falling into an extasie, he received strange Revelations, and divine commands for the institution of this his Order: the Pipe they play on, they esteem for an ancient and sanctified sort of Musick, and to be that with which *Jacob* and the other holy Shepherds in the Old Testament praised God.

It hath a doleful melancholy sound; but their constant exercise and application thereunto makes it as Musical as can be imagined in such an Instrument: the best of those Canes are esteemed to come from *Iconium*, and are of twenty five Dollers price. But this sort of devotion with instrumental Musick, is by *Turks* themselves disputed against, denying that their Founder, who was so spiritual a man, did ever institute, or himself use Musick in his turning round, because the *Alchoran* expressly forbids all devotion and service of God with Musick, but only with the natural and living voice; And that is the reason, why in calling their people to prayers they use no Bells, but only the voice of a man; and for this cause I remember, that in my time prohibitions have been made by publick Authority against this practice of the *Dervises*. But they on the contrary, alledging *David's* example, and his Dancing before the Ark as Arguments for their Musick and Giration, have by the help of several persons in power, many of them being greatly affected with their devotion, maintained from time to time this custom and institution of the first Founder of this Order, notwithstanding that one *Vanni Efendi* a great *Seigh* or Preacher, esteemed as a knowing Person by the Grand Signior and all the Court; hath by his Authority endeavoured to Reform this Corruption (as he calls it) amongst them.

Their Profession.

They profess Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience, like Capuchin Friars or other Orders of *St. Francis*; but if any have not the gift of continence, he may obtain License to leave his Convent and marry; but of these, they observe that none ever thrived or lived happily with contentment, that renounced this Dedication to Gods Service.

Their Employment.

The Novices serve in the most servile Offices, and in time others supply their places; they lie as companions two together in a Cell, some of which employ their time in Learning to Read and Write in *Turkish*, *Arabick* and *Persian*; but most yield for their slothful temperament to which they are naturally addicted: but because the nature of man is restless, and must employ it self either in good or bad actions; most of these

these associates exercise some kind of Legerdemain, or tricks to amuse the minds of the common people; and some really apply themselves to Sorceries and Conjurations by help of familiar spirits. *Busbequius* tells strange Stories of one with whom he was acquainted, that he would strike a stone of great weight and bigness against his bare Breast with that force and violence as were sufficient to knock down an Ox, or break the bones of the stoutest Gyant; and that the same man he hath seen take an Iron Bar red-hot from the fire and hold it in his mouth, and though the spittle and moisture of his mouth hissed with the heat, yet he seemed to take it thence again without the least hurt or burning imaginable.

This sort of people of all other *Turks*, addict themselves to drink Wine, Strong-Waters, and other intoxicating Liquors; and eat *Opium* in that quantity, by degrees using their bodies thereunto, that no Mounrebank or *Mithridates* himself who was nourished with poison, are capable to digest half that proportion that these men will do; the effect of which is at first, like men drunk or mad, to raise their spirits to a sort of distracted Mirth, and afterwards when the subtile vapours are consumed and spent, and a dull stupefaction overcomes them, they name it an extasie, which they account very holy and divine in imitation of their first Founder, who was often observed to put himself into this condition; and therefore what helps may be found to excite Mirth or distraction, is lawful and allowable in this Order.

There is a famous Monastery of these in *Egypt*, invoking for their Saint one *Kederlee*, which by the Stories they tell of him should be St. *George*, in conformity with whom all other *Dervises* maintain a Reverent esteem of this Saint, affirming that in his life he was a valiant Horseman, killed Dragons and all sorts of venomous Beasts; and now being departed this life, God for preservation of good men hath given him power to deliver such as being in distress, invokes his assistance; especially those who are at Sea, and at the point of shipwrack; and that he with an extraordinary swiftness of motion flies from one part of the world to another in the twinkling of an eye, and seasonably comes in to their succour. These by virtue of that blessing *Kederlee* confers upon them, pretend to charm Serpents and Adders, and handle them as familiarly as we do the most innocent and domestick creatures; which art, as I have heard from good Authority, is not peculiar in *Egypt* only to *Dervises*, but to other men who are said to be naturally endued with a virtue against the poisonous bites of Vipers and other venomous Beasts; who putting great numbers of them into a bag together, do cull and sort them out with their hands, as one would do Worms or Muscles; and others with a word charm Serpents from moving as they crawl along the Banks of *Nile*, which gifts these men pretend to inherit from their Parents, and others to possess in reward of their virtues and Sanctity. This sort of *Egyptian Dervises* have Sainted the Horse of St. *George*, and have seated him in Paradise with the other three beasts in high respect and esteem amongst the *Turks*, viz. the Ass on which Christ rode, the Camel of *Mahomet*, and the Dog of the seven Sleepers.



A Sort of Dervish that Travels the World.

These *Dervishes* have Monasteries in the most famous places of the *Turkish* Empire, which serve the travelling Pilgrims of this Order for Inns and places of entertainment: for they above all other Religious *Turks*, journey and travel from one place to another, where the *Mahometan* Religion is professed, under pretence of preaching and propagating their Faith; and thus they travel upon Charity of their Monasteries and Alms of others into *Persia*, *China*, and the Dominions of the *Mogul*, by which means they become the best spies and intelligencers of any that are found in the Eastern parts of the world.

I remember at *Adrianople* to have seen the Ruine of one of these Monasteries situated on a pleasant hill, and in good Air, that oversees the whole City and Plains round about; which upon enquiry I understand was demolished by the famous Visier *Kuperli*; because it was discovered to be a Rendezvous of the lewd Women of the Town, and a Stew where the young Gallants debauched the Wives of the richest *Turks*, to whom their Husbands had given liberty in honour to the Sanctity of the place, to be often present at the devotion of the *Dervishes*; but their way of practice being too publick and scandalous, the Foundation of their house by the order of the Visier was razed to the ground.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the Order of Religious Turks called Ebruharee.

THIS Order of *Ebruharee* was first instituted by their founder and institutor *Ebruhar*, from whom they have their denomination, who herein followed the Precepts and Rules of his Master *Nacksbende*, from whom in like manner the Order of *Mevelevee* or *Dervises* are derived: for the better understanding this sort of people, the Reader may take this following, as an authentick discourse relating to their manners and original, which I shall deliver *Verbatim* as given me in writing by one esteemed Learned amongst the *Turks*, and was a *Hadgi* or Pilgrim, and made it his business to inform me of this Sect. *Sultan Bajazet*, said he, in the year of *Mahomet* nine hundred and eleven, erected a *Mosch* and Convent in *Constantinople*, dedicated to this Holy *Emir Ebruhar* (that is of the race of *Mahomet*) upon whom rest the mercy of the Creator. This man both extrinsically as to appearance in the world, and intrinsically as to his devout soul, was famous and renowned for the Miracles he worked; on which *Fabrick Sultan Selim* afterwards bestowed a fountain of water.

This *Ebruhar* Scholar of *Nacksbende*, taking into his Company the assistance of *Abdulla* and *Ilahi* and *Vefa*, Preachers and Heads of other Convents, came out of *Assa* to propagate their Doctrine in *Europe*. *Ilahi.*

Their actions were governed with Meekness, Gravity and Silence, and laying aside all superstitious Worships, they exercise themselves in pious actions; their discourses amongst themselves were nothing in relation to the things of the world, but of Matters relating to a future life.

These poor religious fast for the most part on *Mundays* and *Thursdays*; and both they and those devoted to their order abstain from all Meats that carry with them any fetulent or ungrateful smells, and in this manner these devout people exercised in abstinence and a moral life, and swallowed up or transported with the illumination of God, and attending to their daily prayers, Commemoration of Gods mercy, and other offices of devotion, acquire a holy disposition and preparation for Celestial glory.

As to the Holy *Emir Ebruhar*, whose Mysterious life may God sanctifie to us; was nourished with Bread made of Barley, Oil of Olives, Honey and Grapes, and abstained from all things of a strong scent or savour, he eat but three times a year, giving himself continually to Fasting and Prayer; he was a man of great Sanctity, full of Divine Revelation, his attractive vertue was grateful to all, to his Feet from divers Countries were many diseased persons brought, which afterwards returned sound and healthful to their own homes; all which is the relation of my Doctor and great admirer of the *Mahometan* Religion.

In commendation of the religious of this Order, are these Verses in the *Persian* tongue:

Gber bakiki iabi der ge han bulendi
Nakşibendi Kiın Nakşibendi; that is,

If thou wouldst find in the world one accomplished as a true *Heroe*, make thy self a *Nakşibendi*, who is the true pattern of a Servant of God.

And notwithstanding this great pretended purity and sanctity of these men, they are yet by the generality esteemed Hereticks in the *Mahometan* superstition, because they judge themselves not obliged to the Pilgrimage of *Mecha*, by reason of their pretended purity of soul and Seraphick Raptures, which elevate them above the world, and enable them in their very Cells to be present, or have a clear Prospect into their Holy *Mecha*.

CHAP. XV.

Of the Nimetulahi.

ONE sort of those who are accounted in the number of *Chalveti* is the *Nimetulahi*; they had their beginning in the *Hegira* or year of *Mahomet* 777, and their denomination from one of that name, famous for his Doctrine and severity of life in the time of *Sultan Mahomet*, Son of *Bajazet*, called by the *Turks* *Ilderim*, or the Son of Thunder; He was an excellent Physician, and renowned for his virtues amongst the vulgar; for better knowledge of his Life and Doctrine, the Reader may take notice what one of this Order related to me in admiration of his Master.

He was one, said he, who preached and published the truth, mortified his body, followed not the affections of the carnal Appetite, knew the intrinsic nature and Quiddity of all creatures, rendered continual Prayers and Praises to his Creator; and so long resigned himself entirely to speculation, until he arrived to the Ravishment of Extasies and Raptures, in which he oftentimes obtained the happiness to discourse with God.

He eat of all those things which God made lawful for humane nourishment, without observation of Fasts or strictness in Diet, but day and night continued in his prayers and devotions: whilst he slept he extended not his feet like the beasts of sense, who eat Corn and Hay in the Stables; sometimes the fear of God made him tremble, and his countenance became melancholy and affrighted with the apprehension of his Majesty. And to this perfection none ever arrived, nor to that intimate knowledge of the divine Secrets.

The professors of this Order assemble every *Munday* night to praise the Unity of the Divine Nature, and Celebrate the name of God with Hymns and Songs.

Those that would initiate themselves into this Order, are obliged to make a Quarentine first, or remain sequestred in a Chamber for the space of forty days, with twenty four drams of Meat a day, during which

which time they see the face of God, the sublime Paradise, and praise the Creator and Framer of the Universe ; at the expiration of their term, they are taken forth by the rest of the Fraternity, who taking hands Dance in a *Morris* ; in which Vagary, if any Vision appear to the Novices from God, they throw their Cloaths behind them, and fall flat with their faces on the ground, like men astonished or strook with an Apoplexy, until such time as the Prior or chief of their Order coming and making prayers for them, they return by degrees to their sense again, and taking them up with their eyes red and distorted, they remain a while like men drunk, distracted or stupid ; but afterwards their scattered spirits being better collected, the Prior demands in secret their Visions and Revelations, which they communicate to him, or some other serious and grave person well instructed in the Mysteries of their profession.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the Kadri.

THis is another of those six Religions which are derived from *Chalvetti*, which had one *Abdul Kadri Ghilani* for its first Founder, a man greatly admired for his wisdom and abstinence, whose Sepulchre is found without *Babylon*, to which place many of those who enter into the Regular Orders of these Convents make their Pilgrimages.

Those who enter into this Religion, must perform their Novitiate with degrees of abstinence and fasting ; wherefore when first they take the profession upon them, there is bestowed upon them a small Cudgel made of the Wood of a Willow, weighing when fresh and green four hundred drams, which they are always to carry about them hung at their Girdle ; by the weight of this they take their daily allowance of bread, until such time as the Wood becoming exceeding dry, is also much the lighter, and so according as the weight thereof lightens, their proportion of Bread diminishes.

Besides their prayers of five times a day, to which all *Mahometans* are bound, they are obliged to spend the whole or best part of the night with turning round at the sound of a little Pipe, and to utter this word, *Hai, Hai*, which signifies Alive, being one of the Attributes of God : and this they do in imitation of the Custom used by their Founder, who is said to have pronounced this word *Hai*, so often, and with that vehemency, that the vein of his breast bursting, the blood gushed out upon the Wall, and made the word *Hai*. Wherefore all his Disciples to follow the example of their Master, taking hands together in a ring, repeat this word, *Hai, Hai*, with so much violence, and so often, until they fall on the ground without breath or life ; those who last out longest carry off the dead from the Chamber, and lay them to recover their spirits after their strained exercise ; and this they do every *Friday* night. Every one of these are obliged once in the year to a retirement of forty days, in a little Cell free from all company or conversation, during which

which time they are wholly to give themselves to meditations, and to observe their dreams, and so recount them to their Superiour, who studies the interpretation of them, and from them Divines of future things.

They have many times license from their Superiour, to be drunk or intoxicate themselves with *Aqua vite*, *Opium*, or any stupifying Drugs, to be better able to perform with more spirit and vehemency their mad Dance.

These fellows are of a refined wit, notable Sophisters and Hypocrites; their secrets they reveal to none but those of their own profession, by which means they are subtle to cheat those of other Religions.

They are not debarred from the liberty of Marriage, but if they do marry they are excluded from the Convent, and may wear any sort of habit, yet for distinction sake they wear Black Buttons; those that live in the Convent, carry a certain white Plad of a Course Cloth, their Heads with hair unshaven, without Caps or other covering, and their feet bare. These are called *Kadri*, and have a Convent at *Tophana* in *Constantinople*.

The Founder of this Order, called, as we have said before, *Abdul Kadir Ghilan*, was born in the *Hegira* or year of *Mahomet* five hundred sixty one, and dyed in the year six hundred fifty seven; he was esteemed both a Lawyer and a Philosopher; his Master or Instructor was *Abdul Mumin Gazeli*, who composed two Books, one called *Mugrib* or the *Arabian Grammar*, and another called *Andalus*. At that time that *Helakin* Son of *Genghiz Han* came to *Babylon*, he caused him to kill one *Alkamsi* then Vice-King of that City, for being of the *Persian* Sect, called by the *Turks* *Rasizi* or Hereticks, because they reject *Abubecher*, *Omar* and *Osmán*, as Apocryphal Writers, and attribute not to them that honour of Holy men, which is given by the *Turks*.

The Prior or chief of the Convent of this Order, teach their Disciples a certain prayer, which they whisper in their ears, that it may not be over-heard or known by others; this they are obliged to repeat every moment with little intermission, unless at times set apart for the offices of nature; and boast that it hath so much of efficacy in it, that by the vertue thereof, they obtain the enjoyment of divine visions and revelations.

Their posture is, like other Religious *Mahometans*, to sit with their heads hanging down, and their Noes in their Breasts, which they call *Murakabe*; the better to keep them from distraction or wandering thoughts, during their contemplations of Heaven, and the vanity of satisfying the carnal appetite.

Amongst the many Miracles that the followers of this Order recount of their Master; one is this, That coming once to *Babylon* to inhabit amongst the other superstitious persons and *Santones* of that City, they hearing of his approach went forth to meet him, one of them carrying in his hand a dish filled with water; from whence they would infer, that as that dish was full to the brim so as to be capable of containing no more, so their City was so replenished with Learned and Religious persons, that there was no place to receive him: Whereupon this subtle Sophister studying to confute this Hieroglyphick, whereby they

they would excuse the courtesie of due Hospitality, stretching his arms first towards Heaven, and then bowed down and gathered a Rose leaf which he laid on the water, which before had filled the dish: by which piece of ingenuity, he not only confuted the parable of the Churlish *Babylonians*, but also so took with them, that they registred it as a Miracle of wisdom, and bringing him into their City with triumph, made him the Superiour of all their Orders.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the Order of Kalenderi.



a Santone or Holy man

THIS Order may rather be termed the Sect of *Epicureans*, then men retired to mortifie their appetites, and deny the world, as all other of the religious and regulated *Turks* pretend; but yet this sort of Fanatics pretend to Religion by a different way of Libertinism and looseness in their conversation; which they act so publickly, that they are not ashamed to profess their institution and customs to be after this manner.

In the time that *Mahomet Mansur* Son of *Melkazin Ohoma* the Son of *Silahdin*, being ready to resign up his last breath, bequeathed to his Son *Mahomet Melik Kiamel*, the Government of *Cairo*, and all the other parts of the Kingdom of *Egypt*; *Damascus* and *Jerusalem* to his Son *Isa Melik Muazin* and *Diarbekir*, to his third Son *Eschrefmusa*; There lived a certain *Santone*, who always mentioned the name of God with the sound of his Pipe, and with that Musick recreated himself day and night, not after a chearful and merry humour, but with sad and melancholy Tunes, accompanied his Pipe with Tears and Sighs. He was an excellent Musician, and a deep Philosopher, endued with those supernatural vertues as enabled him to work Miracles clear, and notorious to all the world; he was a *Hermite*, called in *Arabick Abdal*; went with his head bare, and his body full of wounds, without Shirt or other Cloathing, besides a Skin of some wild Beast thrown about his Shoulders; at his Girdle he wore some finely polished stone; his wrists, instead of Diamonds or Stones of value, he wore counterfeit Jewels, which carried a lustre and fair appearance with them; this man was called *Santone Kalenderi*, who was continually singing *Arabick Sonnets*, and according to them Musical Airs, making also harmonious compositions so artificially, that he seemed another *David*. But how strict and sober soever this *Santone* was, his Disciples or Profelytes are of another temper, being wholly given up to Jollity and delights, they banish all kind of melancholy and sadness, and live free of cares, passions or torments of the mind, and have this saying amongst them, This day is ours, to morrow is his who shall live to enjoy it; and therefore studiously attend to lose no moment or least part of their pleasure, but consume their time in eating and drinking; and to maintain this gluttony they will sell the Stones of their Girdles, their Earrings and Bracelets. When they come to the house of any rich man or person of Quality, they accommodate themselves to their humour, giving all the Family pleasant words and chearful expressions to persuade them to a liberal and free entertainment. The Tavern by them is accounted holy as the *Mosch*, and believe they serve God as much with debauchery or liberal use of his creatures (as they call it) as others with severity and mortification. And the *Turks* say, That in the *Hegira* 615, the Christians became Masters of *Jerusalem*, by reason that the Institutor of this Order of the *Kalenderi*, who had a chief hand in the Government of the City, was found drunk when it was assaulted.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the Edhemis



Religious man of the order of Edhem.

THe original Founder of this Order was one *Ibrahim Edhem*, concerning whom the Disciples themselves, or Followers recount things very obscurely, and tell us Stories that his Father was a Slave and *Abasine* by Nation, and went one day under the Fort *Horanan* to discourse with *Ibnimelik* King of *Cairo*, that he was a man very comely, facetious and sober in his carriage, always desiring to please God, continued in the *Moschs* reading the *Alchoran*, and in prayer day and night with his face prostrate on the ground, and often repeating these words;

“O God, thou hast given me so much wisdom, as that I know clearly that I am in thy direction; and therefore scorning all power and dominion, I resign my self to the speculation of Philosophy and a holy life.

His Servants seeing this his devout way of living, applyed themselves to the imitation of his Austerity, and abandoning all greatness and vanities of the world, applyed themselves to solitude and mortification; their superfluous garments they bestowed on the Poor, giving to those whose necessities required them.

Their food is Bread made of Barley, and Pray frequently with Fasting, and their Priors apply themselves much to a faculty in Preaching.

Their principal Convents are in Cities of Persia, especially Chorasán.

Their Cloathing is of a coarse thick Cloth, upon their heads they wear a Cap of Wool, with a Turbant round it, and about their necks a white Linnen Cloth striped with red. In the Deserts they converse with Lions and Tigers, salute them and make them tame, and by the miraculous power of divine assistance entertain discourse with Enoch in the Wilderness; This and many other wild discourses they make of this Edhem, but because there are but few of this Order in Constantinople, being most appropriated to Persia; I could not receive so particular an account of their Rule and Institutions, as I have done of others.

C H A P. XIX.

Of the Order of Beckasle.

THe original Founder of this Religion, is of no ancient Memory or standing, nor had his Birth or Education amongst the *Santones* of Arabia, from whence most of these superstitious pretenders have had their beginning; but one of those that was an Army-Precacher, that could fight as well as pray, of whom my learned *Hogia* gives me this account.

In the time (says he) that the Warlike and Victorious Sultan Amurath passed with his Army into Servia, and overcame Lazarus, the Despot of that Country, and slew him in Battel, Becktash was then Precacher to Amurath; who amongst other of his admonitions forewarned him of trusting the Servians; but Amurath out of his couragious spirit relying on his own wisdom and force admitted a certain Nobleman called Vilvo, upon pretence of doing him homage, to approach near him and kiss his hand, who having his Dagger ready and concealed, stabbed Amurath to the heart, and with that blow made him a Martyr. Becktash knowing that this treacherous death of his Prince, must needs also be the cause of his, for being so near his Person, and prophecying of this fatal stroke, sought not to prevent it, but made preparations for his own death. And in order thereunto provided himself with a white Robe with long Sleeves, which he proffered to all those which were his admirers, and Profelytes, to be kissed as a mark of their obedience to him and to his institutions; from this action the custom hath been introduced of kissing the sleeve of the Grand Signior.

The Religious of this Order wear on their heads white Caps of several pieces with Turbants of Wool, twisled in the fashion of a Rope, they observe constantly the hours of Prayer, which they perform in their own Assemblies; they go Cloathed in White, and praise the Unity of God, crying, Hu
(which

(which is, may be live) and by these means obtain the Grace of God.

This Santone hath many millions of Disciples and Followers; now all the Janizaries of the Ottoman Port are professors of the same Religion. This Beftash at his death cut off one of his sleeves, and put it upon the head of one of his religious men, part of which hung down on his shoulders, saying, after this, you shall be Janizaries, which signifies a new Militia; and from that time began their original institution, so this is the reason why the Janizaries wear Caps falling behind after the manner of sleeves called Ketches. This Hagi Beftash was a person exceedingly attractive in his conversation, holy to admiration, a man of great worth, and Majestick in his comportment, he was buried in the City Kyr, where they have many Convents and Religious followers, who always praise and adore God: and thus far my Hoggia informs me.

But whatsoever he says, this Order is the most abhorred in the world by the *Kadizadeli*, because that Beftash left it to the free will of his Disciples, either to observe the constant hours of prayer or not; by which great liberty and licentiousness is entered amongst the Janizaries, who are Souldier-like, not over zealous or devout in their Prayers, little attendant to the offices of devotion. In some Songs which this Beftash is said to have composed, it is often repeated, that none hath known God, because none hath seen him: And for this reason the most zealous Mahometans call the Janizaries *Kesefesi*, which signifies without faith; and a certain *Musfi* called *Ebusund* delivered his sentence or *Fetfa*, to the question demanded him; if a *Muselman* or Believer should say to a Janizary, thou art a Pagan, what punishment he should merit by the Law? he replied, that a man is an Infidel, who holds a Janizary for a true Believer.

Some Friars of this Order of Beftash do in all publick shews and solemnities march near the person of the Janizar Aga, crying continually, *Hu, Hu*, with their Daggers drawn. They are a most licentious sort of people, much given to *Sodomy*, for which the ignorant and loose sort of Janizaries are willingly their Disciples; and are now grown into that vast multitude, as is almost impossible to extirpate them or their vices; though corrosives are laid to eat away this Gangreen in the Militia, which goes creeping on with an unsensible pace; as we shall discourse more largely in the next Book of the Turkish Militia.

CHAP. XX.

Of the Order of Herewi or Hizrevi.

IN the time of Orchanes the second King of the Turks, who Governed thirty five years and Reigned eighty three, and dyed in the *Hegira* of Mahomet seven hundred and sixteen, there lived in *Prusa*, then the Regal Seat, a famous Santone called *Herewi*, who used to walk up and down, and as an act of charity to buy the Livers and Lights of Beasts to feed Cats and Dogs; he professed poverty and severe mortification with Fears and Sighs, which he acted with that fervency that the Angels leaving

leaving Heaven, came to be witness of his holy penance. The fame of which moved *Sultan Orchanes* to discourse with him, and to know the story of his past life; which he smiling began to recount, and told him, that he formerly was a King derived from the Line of *Mahomet*, had compassed with his arms the Rivers of *Nilus*, *Euphrates*, and *Tigris*, had governed Provinces with his Sword and Scepter, had been gloriously and triumphantly adorned with precious Stones and glittering Arms, and had made the world tremble at the very mention of his name. But at last considering the vanity of this world, he resolved on a solitary life, and to renounce all the follies and small satisfactions of Riches and empty Honours. At which saying, *Sultan Orchanes* was amazed, and said, We ought not to despise those who under the guise and appearance of mad and distracted persons wander through the world; for their virtues are rare; and in this man particularly I discover so much of sanctity, that I judge my self unworthy the name of one of his Servants. And this is the reason, why Fools and Frantick people have ever since been had in Honour and reverence amongst the *Turks*, as those whom Revelations and Enthusiasms transported out of the ordinary temperament of humanity.

This *Heremi* was very Learned and Experienced in Chymistry; and to those who professed his Order and entred into the regular life of his Religion, instead of Aspers he bestowed Gold; he wore a Green Vest; and lived very abstemiously; he mended his own Cloaths, and dressed the Dyet for his Convent. He endowed many *Moschs* and several Hospitals of Charity at *Grand Cairo* and *Babylon*. His Sepulchre is at *Prusa*, which is greatly visited by Pilgrims, and adorned by the Bounty and Munificence of those who reverence the Memory of this holy *Santone*.

This is the best relation I could procure from one of the *Sheighs* or Preachers, and one that was Prior of this Order, whose example, as the original Copy, others of this Order imitate. They have a Monastery in *Constantinople*, as all the others before mentioned, besides which in this Capital City, nor in any parts of the *Turkish* Dominions in *Europe*, have I observed any *Teke* or Monastery, where *Turks* profess to lead a Religious life, but is one of the Orders before mentioned; some others there may be about *Babylon* and *Egypt*, and remotest parts of *Asia*, whose names and constitutions I have not repeated here, who have (as I am informed) somewhat more of ridiculous and superstitious Worship amongst them than I have declared in the account I have given of those I have been acquainted with in the parts I have travelled; yet it is observable they all of them pretend to poverty, as the nearest way to arrive the happiness of Paradise; but with their poverty (as I have seen in some of their *Tekes* where I have been, especially those removed from Cities) they mix so much negligence in their living, not caring for neatness in their Houses, but leave all things in a disorderly and confused manner, as testifies their laziness as well as poverty; and are not like the Cells of *Capuchins*, who having nothing to attend to besides their Prayers and Gardens, improve all things with that advantage, as grace Poverty, and convinces the World that in a moderate enjoyment of it there is more satisfaction, than in those vexations which attend the disposal and government of heaps of riches, and the
fatuity

fatiety of opulency and plenty. It is worth noting also, that on the Monuments of *Santoners* and in the Gardens, or before the Gates of these Religious, there is always some ridiculous adornment, such as agrees with the fancy of Bedlams; as Crowning the Hearse of the dead with Beads, and Horns, and Ribbons, and pieces of Tinsel, &c. and their doors with the like; accounting it a chief disposition to Divine Service to have a mind endued with an humour inclining to the fancy of Hypochondriacal or distracted heads, so that I shall not enlarge farther in this Discourse, nor to glut my Reader with so Insipid and Fulsome a subject.

CHAP. XXI.

Of Marriages and Divorces, and how far Concubinage is indulged amongst the Turks.



The Habit of the Women in Constantinople

THe state of Marriage is accounted both honourable and holy amongst the *Turks*, by which the race of Mankind is best encreased and maintained; yet the Priest as I may call him, or their Church-man, hath the least hand in the Solemnity; the matter as an action wholly civil, is performed before the *Caddee* or Judge; not unlike the manner practised in *England* for some few years, according to that absurd Act of Marriages by a Justice of Peace; and is in the nature of a Recognisance, whereby the Husband doth personally oblige himself before the Judge to take such a Wife, and in case of his Death or Divorce, to endow her with a certain Estate to remain to her own disposal. The Woman is not there present, but appears by her Father or some of her nearest Relations, and is afterwards by a great attendance of Women brought covered, sitting astride on Horse-back under a Canopy to the Habitation of her Bridegroom, who remains at the Gate with open arms to receive her; there is great Rejoycing and Feasting hereat, the night before she is brought to the Company of her Husband; but when the precedent Ceremonies to the Marriage are performed and completed, the House is all silent, and she is brought into the Bride-Chamber by an Eunuch (if she be of Quality) if not, by some Women of near Relation, and delivered to her Husband, who is himself to untie her Drawers, and undress her for his bed, not unlike the custom amongst the *Romans of Zonam solvere*.

Polygamie is freely indulged to them by their Religion as far as the number of four Wives, contrary to the common report, that a *Turk* may have as many Wives as he can maintain; Though *Mahomet* had nine Wives, and *Hali* had fourteen, as being men more spiritual and of a more elevated degree, had greater priviledges and indulgences for carnal enjoyments.

This restraint of the number of their Wives is certainly no Precept of their Religion, but a rule superinduced upon some politick considerations, as too great a charge and weakning to mens Estates, every one that takes a Wife being obliged to make her a Kabin or Dowry, as we have said before; or else for better Regulation of the oeconomies, and to prevent and abate somewhat of the Jealousies, Strifes and Embroilments in a Family, which must necessarily arise between so many Rivals in the affection of one Husband who is obliged by Law and Covenants, to deal and bestow his benevolence and conjugal kindness in an exact proportion of equality. And lest this confinement to a certain number of Wives, should seem a restriction and impeachment of that liberty and free use of Women which they say, God hath frankly bestowed on man; every one may freely serve himself of his Women Slaves, with as much variety as he is able to buy or maintain; and this kind of Concubinage is no ways envied or condemned by the Wives, so long as they can enjoy their due maintenance, and have some reasonable share in the Husbands bed, which once a week is their due by the Law; for if any of them hath been neglected the whole week before, she challenges *Thursday* night as her due, and hath remedy in that case against her Husband by the Law; and if she be so modest as not to sue him for one weeks default, she is yet so ingenious to contrive a supply of her wants: And whereas these Women are Educated with much retiredness from

the

the conversation of men, and consequently with greater inclinations towards them, and with no principles of virtue or moral honesty or Religion, as to a future state relating to the rewards or punishments of their good or bad actions; they are accounted the most lascivious and immodest of all Women, and excel in the most refined and ingenious subtilties to steal their pleasures; And as in Christendom the Husband bears the disgrace and scandal of his Wives incontinency; here the horns are by the vulgar adjudged to the Father, Brothers, and Kindred; the blood of her Family is tainted and dishonoured, and the Husband obtaining a Divorce, quits himself of his Wife and dishonour together.

No question but the first Institutor of this easie Religion, next to the satisfaction of his own carnal and effeminate inclination, and this taking freedom amongst his Disciples; his main consideration was the encrease of his people by *Poligamie*, knowing that the greatness of Empires and Princes consists more in the numbers and multitudes of their people, than the compass or large extent of their dominions. This freedom (if it may be called so) was granted at the beginning of the world for the propagation and encrease of mankind; and the Jews had that permission and indulgence to their loose and wandring affections, and we read that the Eastern parts of the world have abounded with Children of divers Mothers, and but one Father; and that ordinarily a Great Personage in *Egypt* hath been attended with a hundred lusty Sons in the field, proceeding from his own Loins, well Armed, and daring in all attempts of War. But yet this course thrives not so well amongst the *Turks* as formerly; whether it be thought their accursed Vice of *Sodomie*, or that God blesses not so much this State of life, as when the paucity of Mankind induced a sort of a necessity and plea for it.

But chiefly through the irreconcilable emulation and Rivalty which is amongst many Wives, those Witchcrafts and Sorceries (which in this Country are very frequent) are prepared against the envied fruitfulness each of other, that either they make an Abortive Birth, or otherwise their children pine & macerate away with secret & hidden charms, by which means they are now observed not to be so fruitfull and numerous, as is the Marriage-bed of a single Wife; nor is the Family so well regulated, and orderly as under the Conduct and good Huswifery of one Woman, but contrarily, filled with noise, brawls and dissensions, as passes the wisdom of the Husband to become an equal Umpire and Arbitrator of their differences, which consideration restrains many, though otherwise inclineable enough to gratifie their Appetites from incumbering themselves with so great an inconvenience; and I have known some though childless, have adhered to a single Wife, and preferred Quiet and Repose, before the contentment of their Offspring.

The Children they have by their slaves, are equally esteemed with those they have by their Wives; *Neque vero Turce minus honoris deferunt natis ex concubinis aut pellicibus quam ex uxoribus, neque illi minus in bona paterna juris habent*, Bulbeq. Ep. 1.

But yet with this difference in esteem of the Law, that unless the Father manumisses them by his testament, and confers a livelihood upon

them by Legacy, they remain to the Charity of their Elder Brother that is born from the Wife, and are his Slaves, and he their Lord and Master; and it is with them, as in the Civil Law, *Partus ventrem sequitur*; So that from the Loins of the same Father, may proceed Sons of a servile and ingenious condition.

There is also another sort of half Marriage amongst them, which is called *Kabin*, when a man takes a wife for a Month, or for a certain limited time: and an agreement is made for the prize before the *Cadee* or Judge: and this Strangers oftentimes use, who have not the gift of Continency, and are desirous to find a Wife in all places where they travel, and is the same which they term in *Spain* to be *Emanibado*, or *Casado de Media Carta*, only the act there is not made allowable by the Laws as in *Turkey*.

There is another sort of Marriages commonly used amongst the *Turks* (if we may give it that honourable Title) which is the conjunction of an Eunuch with a Woman; such I mean as are wholly disarmed of all parts of virility, do notwithstanding take many Wives, and exercise Lusts of an unknown and prodigious nature.

There is also one point or restriction of Matrimony in the *Turkish* Religion which is observable; that is, a *Mahometan* may marry himself with what Woman soever, though esteemed an Infidel, as a Christian, Jew, or any other different profession, so it be of those who are of a Learned Religion, of which Books are wrote to defend and maintain it; but such Women as are of a Religion which hath nothing in it of Learning or of written Law, as the sect of *Meizzee*, who adore the fire, conserving it always burning in their Temples, and are to be found in the parts of *Persia*, but principally in some Countries of *Mogul*; and also the Gipsie Women are prohibited (of which great numbers are amongst the *Turks*): a Vagabond people without Law or Religion, but what is fabulous and ridiculous; and having no literature or knowledge amongst them, are reputed as abominable amongst the *Turks*.

And here the *Turks* upon occasional discourses of the severity and strictness of the Christian Discipline in matters of Concupiscence, telling them that no Copulation is allowable but in the marriage Bed, & that restrained and confined to one Wife, without the additions of Slaves to satisfy with variety the corrupted fancy; that the very thoughts of Lust and Concupiscence pollute the purity of the soul; And that whosoever looks on a woman to Lust after her, commits adultery in his heart; They presently deride these our Precepts and our Laws, which Christians not only by their actions & corrupted lives contemn and invalid, but Authority it self not by a simple connivance only, but by indulgence and priviledges, foment and encourages persons walking contrary to that which is confessed to be an indispensable Law. For proof whereof, they mention the Stews of *Italy*, Whoredom made an allowable Trade and profession in *Venice*, *Naples*, and the City of *Rome*, and the *Cantonerias* in *Spain*, and framed into a Politick body (as it is related and apprehended by the *Turks*) from whence Taxes and impositions are raised: The *Turks* comprehend not the Politick grounds hereof, with which in *Italy* this Maxime is defended nor is it fitting to produce the reasons or argue it with them; since the benefit

benefit which accreus to the *Roman* Church, and the Profits that arise thence, being employed in maintenance of Gallies and Forces against Infidels, is the best can be said to hallow this permission; but 'tis an improper argument with a *Turk* to excuse this License and Authority to sin, upon considerations of being better able to War against the Professors of his Religion. And therefore the *Turk* will hardly be convinced but that this manner of Concubinage hath much more of Sanctity, Order and Policy in it, as being free from Diseases and Foulness, than the wandring Lusts of Stews or impudence of *Cortesans*, made bold and hard-foreheaded by concession of Authority:

*Pudet hæc opprobria Nobis
Et dici potuisse, &c.*

Amongst all the priviledges that the *Sultan* enjoys above his subjects, this one hath less than they, that he cannot marry; but yet he hath as many Women as serves his use, though never so libidinous, or are requisite for the Ostentation and great Magnificence of his Court, according to the custom of the Eastern Princes, who placed a great part of their Pomp in the multitude of their Women. This disuse of Marriage in the *Sultan*, hath been a Maxime of State, and reckoned amongst the *Turks*, *inter Arcana imperii*, from the time of *Bajazet*, untill this very Age: the reasons hereof are diversly related. *Eusebius* saith, That *Bajazet* after the great Victory obtained against him by *Tamerlane*, to his other great Misfortunes and Disgraces, had this one added, of having his Wife *Despina* whom he dearly loved, to fall into the hands of the Conquerour, whose ignominious and undecent treatment before the eyes of her Husband, was a matter of more dishonour and sorrow, than all the rest of his afflictions: so that ever since that time, the *Sultans* to free themselves from being capable of that disgrace on occasion of like fortune, take no feminine companion of their Empire in whom they may be more concerned than as in Slaves, or the loss of Goods, Riches, or Estate. But in my opinion, this policy is of a deeper reach and design, than the considerations of matters so meely possible; for as I have heard, the only sign and ceremony of a *Sultans* making a Wife, is the endowing her with Riches agreeable to her condition and quality, not called *Kabin*, which is *Dowry*, but *Pashmaluck* or money for her Shooes; which besides Presents, Jewels and Rich Garments for her self, and great attendance, her Revenue ought to be equal to that of a *Valede* or Mother of the Grand Signior, which is four or five hundred thousand Dollars yearly rent; so that were this custom in use, and meeting with the disposition of some Princes that are Amorous and Prodigal, the chief Revenue of the Empire would be expended in the Chambers of Women, and diverted from the true Channels in which the Treasure ought to run for nourishment of the Politick body of the Common-wealth. Besides were it the custom for *Sultans* to take wives, it would contract that main principle of Policy amongst them, of avoiding Alliances and far Relations of the Grand Signior abroad. And this was the principle reason of the murder of *Sultan Osman*, tenth Emperor of the *Turks*, contrived

by the Rebellion and Toleration of the Souldiery : it being objected that he had Married a *Soltana*, whereby he had contracted Alliances, contrary to the Fundamental Constitutions of the Empire.

The tye and solemnity of Marriage, and the nature thereof amongst the *Turks*, is as before related : from which the Woman hath no ways to unloose her self, whilst the Husband maintains her with Bread, Butter, Rice, Wood, and Flax to spin for her cloathing ; the Law supposes her so industrious a Housewife as with her own labour to supply her self : there are some other points pleadable in Law for Divorce in behalf of the Woman, as impotency or frigidity in the Husband, and the like ; but the man hath divers means to acquit himself, and can do it by several allegations ; and may upon as easie terms, and on as slight grounds sue out his Divorce, as was permitted to the Jews in cases of dislike, or that she found no favour in his eyes.

There are amongst the *Turks* three degrees of Divorce, every one of which is made before the *Kadee* or Justice, and by him drawn out and registred. The first separates the Man and Wife only from the same House and Bed, the maintenance of a Wife being still continued ; The second not only divides them in that manner, but the husband is compelled to make good her *Kabin* which is a Joynture or Dowry promised at her marriage, so as to have no interest either in him or his Estate, and to remain in a free condition to marry another. The third sort of Divorce which is called (*Ouch Talac*) is made in a solemn and more serious manner, with more rigorous terms of separation, and in this case the husband repenting of his Divorce, and desirous to re-take his wife, cannot by the Law be admitted to her without first consenting and contenting himself to see another man enjoy her before his face, which condition the Law requires as a punishment of the husbands lightness and inconstancy, and as an evidence to shew that though the *Turkish* Law is very indulgent and open in the free choice and enjoyment of Women, yet that it punishes such as unadvisedly frustrate the solemn points thereof, with remarkable notes of infamy and disgrace. Notwithstanding some afterwards repenting of their Divorce, have been contented with the condition, and have chosen some handsome youth to enter into the Bed of their Wife. It is a merry Story that is told of one, who in this case being put to a great straight, resolved to call the first man he conveniently met to this Office, that so as one unknown his reputation might be the less concerned : the man he first lighted on happened to be a *Kaickgee* or Boat-man, who it seems so well satisfied and pleased the Wife, that she afterwards renounced all interest in her Husband, and resolved to adhere to her new Lover, of whom she supposed she had sufficient proof and acquaintance with already to esteem a better Husband than her former. There are but few amongst the *Turks*, though some are found, who so heartily repent of their Divorce, and so fond of their separated wives, as to be contented to take them with the foregoing condition : for it is reputed a kind of an abomination ; and when they would signifie any matter far alienated, or estranged, they all call it (*Ouch Talac*) some thing so divided and separated as to be a Sin and prophanation so much as to covet or desire it.

CHAP. XXII.

Of the other parts of the Turkish Religion.

Of Circumcision.

Circumcision is not reckoned amongst one of the five points which constitute a true *Mahometan* believer, but tis only (as we have said before) proposed as a tryal and proof of mans obedience to the more necessary parts of the Law. This rite of Circumcision is not received by them as an Article of Precept delivered expressly from the *Alchoran*, but by tradition and ancient practice and use amongst the *Arabians*, before the time of *Mahomet*, derived originally from *Ishmael* or *Esan* whose progeny they are, and from thence give themselves the name of *Ishmaelites*. The *Arabian* Doctors affirm that *Mahomet* himself was born without a Navel, and naturally circumcised; perhaps to equal the same story which the *Jews* report of *Moses*, and some others of the Patriarchs, and it seems in those Countries where circumcision is in practice, that it is not unusual for Children to be so born; who are therefore called Sons of the Moon, on whom the vertue of the Moon hath more than ordinary manner of influence. *Credebant siquidem Arabes, quod ille qui sub lune radiis nasceretur, contrahi perinde ac circumcisum præputium.* Pecockii nota de Arabum moribus.

The *Turks* never circumcise their Children untill the age of seven years and upwards; and then they do it by a Barber or Chirurgeon, it not being esteemed a matter appropriated to the office of the *Emaum* or Priest; for (as we have said before) they make no such distinction as Clergy and Laity; I mean, as to any spiritual Character of Priesthood; for a man may cry upon the Steeple to day, and like their pastor be the first to lead his Congregation to their Prayers, and expound the *Alchoran* in the Pulpit; and next day be expelled his Parish, and become free to any other secular employment or profession: they observe some ceremonies amongst them on this occasion, often differing according to the Country and place; but commonly the child is set on horse-back in his best cloaths, attended with his School-fellows and companions, who with loud shouts repeat some words in the *Alchoran*; and being brought home, and the act of circumcision performed, he is carefully attended for his cure, and in the meantime there is a feast or banquet prepared for the Guests; those who of riper years become *Mahometans* in some places are carried about the Town on horse-back, with a dart in their left hand pointing to their heart, signifying that they will rather suffer themselves to be passed through with that instrument, than renounce that faith they then profess. And this circumcision is an admission and introduction of them into the number of the faithful, as it is amongst the *Jews*, and Baptism with the Christians.

Ceremonies at
the Circum-
cision.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of the five necessary points which are required to constitute a true Mahometan.

Of their Washings.

THough *Mahomet* saith in the *Alchoran*, that his Religion is founded in cleanness, & that it is half of his Law; yet much before *Mahomet's* time washings were observed according to the same prescriptions by the *Arabians*, who descending from *Ishmael*, maintained by tradition the practice of washings: and he had no other share in this invention, than that it was enforced by his Authority on the professors of his sect. The *Turks* are certainly very cleanly people in their exterior manner of living; as in their washings relating to their holy exercises and duties, they are very precise and superstitious; some of them believing that the very water purifies them from the foulness of their sins, as well as from the uncleanness of their bodies: There being three sorts of washings observed by them.

The first is called *Abdest*, which is a preparation for their Prayers, entering the *Mosch*, or reading the *Alchoran*; they first wash their hands and arms, then their neck, their forehead, the crown of their head, their ears, their teeth, the face, under the nose, and last of all their feet; but if the weather be cold, and not convenient to uncover them, it is sufficient, if they make some evidence thereof by any other outward signification.

The second is called *Gusul*, which is the cleansing of the Bath after copulation or nocturnal pollutions; untill which time a man is called *Ginnub*, that is, his prayers are accounted abominable before God, and his Society to be avoided by men.

The third is *Taharet*, which is a washing after the ease or evacuation of nature; to this homely office they design the three last fingers of the left hand; and upon this account they call Christians *Tabaratsis*, which is as much as one defiled and impure for want of this manner of cleansing. And washing is so usual and frequent amongst them both before and after meat, as hath caused a common proverb amongst them, that God hath created meat that men may have occasion often to wash their hands.

Secondly of their prayers. After their washing follow their prayers, which *Mahomet* to recommend to his disciples the force and virtue of prayer, calls it in his *Alchoran* the pillar of religion, and the key of paradise, & enjoined the performance five times in the space of twenty four hours, viz. between the day-breaking and Sun-rising, called *Sabanamasee*; Secondly, at noon, called *Ulenamasee*; Thirdly, at the middle hour, between the noon & the setting of the Sun, called *Kindinamasee*; Fourthly, at Sun-setting called *Acshanamasee*; Fifthly, at an hour and half in the night, called *Tachinamasee*; this action they perform with very much reverence & devotion, and hold that they ought to be so intent and fixed in their thoughts on this religious act towards God, that

no business of the world, though the execution of the *Sultans* decree should in the same moment be commanded, or fire should burst forth in the very Chamber where they remain, or an armed enemy within their Gates or Camp, they ought not yet to be diverted, or break abruptly off their prayers, to extinguish or oppose themselves against their inevitable destruction: it is much, in my opinion that Infidels should be possessed with that awe and sense of the Divine Majesty in the time of their audience with him; and yet that Friars and others of the *Roman* Church obliged to their Office, as the *Turk* to his *Namas*, should perform it so perfunctorily, as to mix the discourse of business with the repetition of their breviary, and joyn with their responsals answers and resolutions of questions are made them; and so satisfy themselves in the *Opus operatum*, as if it were more important to comply with his command who imposed the office, than with his who primarily enjoined the sacrifice of prayer.

The form of their prayers is not extracted out of the *Alchoran*, only the collections of sentences, as in the Name of God, God is great and mercifull, and the like, are deduced from thence (as Christians do from the fountain of the holy Scriptures) the rest is compiled by the four Doctors we have before mentioned, viz. *Ebbubecher*, *Omar*, *Ozman*, and *Ali*; whose names are wrote in golden Characters on the wall; of most *Moschs*: herein they observe many postures and gestures of their body, as placing their hands one on the other before them, bending the body kneeling, touching the ground with their forehead, moving the head to each side, and the like; in which it is difficult to make distinction of those merely invented & ordained by *Mahomet*, from those which were primarily in use amongst the ancient *Arabians*: But that the orderly Ceremonies in their prayers may be better described, it will be to our purpose to hear what *Busbequius* relates of the whole *Turkish* Army, whom he had seen drawn up orderly in the field at their devotion. I saw (said *Epist. 3.* he) in that plain, a great multitude of heads folded up in Turbants who with profound silence attended to the words of a Priest their conductor; all of them being drawn up in ranks and file, and covering with their extended orders the whole plain, seemed to have framed a wall or bulwark by the regular disposition of their bodies: their cloathings were of light colours, and their Turbants comparable to the whiteness of the snow, and the variety of the different colours of their garments, fed the eyes with a strange pleasure: in this manner so immoveable, they stood as if they had grown in the place where their feet were fixed, no coughing, hemming, nor voice was heard, nor so much as any motion was perceived of their heads; every one at the name of *Mahomet* pronounced by the Priest, bowed his head to his knees; & at the name of God reverently prostrated himself, & kissed the earth: and thus the *Turks* with devout ceremony and profound attention perform their holy duties; supposing that prayer to become fruitless, which is interrupted by scratching of the head, rubbing the hands, or any other gesture not essential to their prayer. But of all Nations and Religions that I have known, they are the most hypocritical; they are those who love to pray in the Market-place, and in the Corners of the Streets to have praise of men; for it is observable with the *Turks* that where they find the most spectators, especially of Christians, to chuse that place how inconvenient soever, to spread first their handkerchief

Lib. 12. Hist.

kerchief, and then begin their prayers. The substance of their prayers consists for the most part in praises of the divine power & attributes; mixing therewith Petitions for the safety of their Prince and his dominions, and for dissention and wars amongst Christians, which part they conceive God hath greatly gratified them in, and rejoicing upon the rumours of wars and disturbances in Christendom, as an effect of the divine facility and concession to their prayers: they know well by experience, what Tacit reports of the Roman Policy; That, *Omne scelus externum cum letitia habendum, semina etiam odiorum incendere*; and as the Romans destined Armenia to be a prize held up, and the Stage also, on which the Tragedy of the ruine of the Eastern Nations were to be acted, *Eandem Armeniam specie largitionis turbandis barbarorum animis praeberint*; so the Turks forebore for several years the total Conquest of the Provinces of Transilvania, Moldavia, & Valachia, reserving them for the Cadmean fields, wherein the Hungarians, Germans, Polonians, and the people of those Countries themselves might destroy one the other, and make his entrance to the possession of them the more facile, and less bloody.

Thirdly, Of their Ramazan.

The third necessary point of their Religion, is the observation of the Month of *Ramazán*, or a Fast in that whole Month, in which time they can neither eat, drink, or take any thing in their mouths, whilst the Sun is above the *Horizon*; afterwards, upon shutting in of the Evening, that the *Emanuel* lights the Lamps, which in that Month are exposed round the Steeple of every *Mosch*, they have liberty to eat: most part of the night they spend in Feasting, reserving commonly their greatest Delicacies and best Provisions for the consolation of that Fast; their business and employments they attend most to in the night, passing the day as over tedious in sleeping, so that their Fast is nothing but a changing the day into night. This Month they call sacred and holy, and the time when the Gates of Paradise are opened, and of Hell are shut: and so strict is the imposition of this Fast, that it is no less than Death for a *Turk* to be accused of the breach thereof. In this Month to drink Wine is esteemed an inexpressible Crime; and such who give themselves that liberty at other times, do yet, not to give scandal, abstain from it fourteen days before the beginning of this Month; and Women and other of the more superstitious sort, begin fifteen days their Fast before it is enjoined by the Precept of their Prophet. But such as are sick, or have any infirmity, or are travellers in their journey, have a permission to eat; but with that condition, as to remain obliged at other times of their health and convenience to make good those days of the *Ramazán*, of which they remain indebted to the performance of their Law.

The Institutions of this Month of *Ramazán*, proceeded from *Mahomet* himself, in the second year of his Prophetick office, which he did not assume until he had fully compleated forty years, having before in imitation of the Jews Fast of *Ashura* *Levit. 16. ver. 29.* in memory of the overthrow of *Pharaoh* and his Host in the red-Sea, enjoined to the *Arabians* the same time of abstinence: but afterwards apprehending it dishonourable to be beholdnig to the Jews for the invention of a fast instituted

Mr. Pocock,
Nota de Arabum moribus.

instituted the *Ramazan*, the time of which is governed by the course of the Moon, and falls out commonly ten days sooner than in the preceding year, so that this Fast with time comes to run through all the months, and is more easie to the *Turks* when it happens in the short dayes of the Winter, rather than in the summer, when the dayes are long and hot, which become tedious to the ordinary sort of people, who for necessity are forced to labour, and yet for the quenching thirst dare not refresh their mouths with a drop of water.

Fourthly, Of their Zecat

Which is another necessary point to the constitution of a *Mahometan* which is the bestowing alms according to certain rules prescribed by four principal Doctors of their Law: the word *Zecat* signifies as much as encrease, because the alms procure the blessing of God & multiply the store of the merciful. According to this command every man is obliged to give one in a hundred of all their Estate to relief of the poor; & though this Precept is enjoyned as an essential ingredient to constitute a true *Mahometan*, yet Covetousness and Policy so much prevail with the *Turks*, that the Rich are both unwilling to part with so much of their Estate, and fearful to evidence their wealth by a true calculate according to the *Zecat*; so that the Poor are the best observers of this injunction, the Rich conceiving it superfluous, and never intended by God to make the performance of Religion a snare to their Estates.

Fifthly, Of their Pilgrimage to Mecha

Which is enjoyned to every one who hath Riches and freedom from great Offices and charges of Government, to perform it; being a Type or signification of their passage out of this world into the next. The number of those who yearly undertake this Pilgrimage is uncertain, though most commonly are registred from divers parts where the *Mahometan* Religion is professed, above fifty thousand souls; these Pilgrims depart about the latter end of *May* from *Constantinople* and meet with those from *Anatolia*, *Caramania*, and others of that quarter of the world at *Damascus*; those from *Persia* assemble at *Babylon*, those of the parts of *Egypt* at *Grand Cario*, and all unite upon the Mount *Ararat*, where they observe divers Ceremonies, as making *Corban* or Sacrifice which they do by killing Sheep, and sending part thereof as Presents to their Friends, and distribution thereof amongst the Poor, in remembrance that upon the same Mount *Abraham* designed to Sacrifice his Son *Isaac*; they also here strip themselves of their Garments, and being covered only with a Blanket, go in procession through the Mountain in signification that they must now leave all their sins and affections of the world behind them.

The chief commander over the Pilgrims (for amongst so considerable a number of people, there must be rule and government) is appointed by the Grand Signior, and is called *Sur-Emini* by whom he sends 500 *Zechins*, an *Alchoran* Embossed with gold carried on a *Camel* & as much black Cloth as serves for hangings for the *Moschs* at *Mecha*; and this is yearly presented from the *Sultan* to that place; when the

new hanging is set up, that of the former year is pulled down, and is by the Pilgrims torn in pieces; some getting more and some less, carry any rag of it home, as a relique and token of their Pilgrimage, which serves them in place of the *Caabe* to which they turn their faces at the time of their prayers. The *Camel* which carryed the *Alchoran*, at his return home is decked with flowers and other ornaments, and having performed this holy journey, is ever after exempted from all labour and service.

CHAP. XXIV.

Of the Bairam and Ceremonies used at that time by the chief Officers to the Grand Signior.

THe *Bairam* is the feast of the *Turks*, of which there are two in the year; one immediatly following the Fast of *Ramazan*, as our Easter doth the Lent, which is called the great *Bairam*; the other is the little *Bairam*, which happens about seventy dayes after the former; at which time the people for three days cease from their labour, present one the other, rejoyce and take greater liberty than at other times; which no question but was invented by *Mahomet*, for relaxation of the bodies & minds of his followers, as well as in imitation of the Chirstian Feasts.

The *Bairam* is then conceived to begin at the first appearance of the new Moon after the *Ramazan*; which is sometime deferred a dayes time if the weather prove Cloudy, that the Moon is not visible; if longer the Sky be obscured, according to the course of nature, it is presumed that the Moon is begun, & so their Feast begins also; which is published at *Constantinople* by the discharge of great Guns at the point of the *seraglio* upon the Sea-shore, at which time the Lights or Lamps on the Steeples of the *Moschs* are extinguished or omitted to be lighted, and Drums and Trumpets are sounded in all publick places of the City, and Courts of great Persons: so that every one betakes himself to Mirth and Pastime as his own inclination or convenience leads him.

But that which will be most curious to the observation of the judicious Reader, is, the relation of the Ceremonies used in the *seraglio* at this Feast by the several officers of State to the Grand Signior, and to one and other; which are so formal, precise and constant to the least motion of every Member of the body, as will clear the *Turks* from that opinion which passes of them in the world of being rude, uncivil and void of all Ceremony or Courtship in their comportment and behaviour, which according to the best information I could procure, is for the most part in this manner.

The Antiport leading to the Lodgings of the *Kapa Agasi* (or chief Eunuch who commands the Pages) being adorned with rich Carpets, Cushions & other Furniture after their fashion, on the *Vigil* or *Evene* before the *Bairam*, all the prime officers of state belonging to the empire then at *Constantinople*, assemble themselves at the Grand Signiors *Seraglio* three or four hours before day, where as soon as day breaks, the Grand

Grand Signior mounted on horse back, passes threw the midst of them, and goes to the *Moschs* of *santa Sophia*, where having said his Morning prayer, he returns again to the *Seraglio*.

Being returned he enters the *Hafoda* or oyal chamber, & setting himself in his Seat of State, having the chief Eunuch of the Pages on his left hand, the Sons of the *Tartar Han* (which remain for hostages in the *Turkish Court*) upon signs made to them, are the first who present themselves before him to wish him a happy Festival; whom (as I have heard reported) he walks three paces to meet, and they prostrating themselves, say, *Eiamischerif*, which is, may these days be happy, and arising kiss his hand and so retire. The next who makes his address, is the prime Visier, who standing on the right hand of the Grand Signior in the front of all the *Beglerbegs*, *Pashaws*, and other great officers, Complements the Grand Signior upon one knee, and nearer approaching kisses his hand, and then arising takes the station of the *Kapa Agasi* or Eunuch of the Pages. The next who follows in this Ceremony is the *Mufti*, who on the left hand fronts the Officers and principal heads of the Law, as the *Kadelescheres* or Lords chief Justices of *Anatolia* and *Greece*, the *Nakib Eschref*, principal head or primate of the Kindred of *Mahomet*, the *Mollahs*, Preachers called *Seighs* and others. Then the *Mufti*, bowing his head to the ground, holding his hands on his Girdle, kisses him on the left shoulder, and the Grand Signior steps one pace, forward to meet him, and so retires to his place; then all the others in their several orders take their turns to pass this Ceremony, who are treated according to what the prime Visier informs the Grand Signior; for some kiss his hand, others the hem of his vest, some his sleeve, others his breast, thereafter as their Quality and Authority is, which is so full of variety and formal niceties, that there is a Book wrote expressly treating of all the particularities of this Ceremony. The last of all who is called to perform his Complement, is the *Janizar Agasi*, or the General of the *Janizaries*.

This part being thus far passed, the Grand Signior enters into a more retired Chamber of the *Seraglio*, where the *Arx Agalar* or the four principal Pages are the first of the Court to do their obeysance as before: then follow the Eunuchs and other Pages; In the mean time a Dinner is provided in the Chamber of the *Divan*, where the Officers of State having complied with their obligation, take a plentiful repast at the Grand Signiors charge, after which the Grand Signior makes a present to each of the sixteen principal officers of Sable Vests, with which the Ceremony concludes.

Then is way made for the Coaches of the *Soltanaes*, who having been Cloystered in the old *Seraglio* the whole year before, are glad at the Feast of *Bairam* to have occasion to make their Visits to the Grand Signior in the first place, as being of his Kindred and Relations, and then to the Queen or Queen-Mother, and to the other *Soltanaes* and Ladies, with whom they use variety of Ceremony according to their Condition and Quality; and there have liberty to remain for the space of three days in Banquetting and other divertisements of Musick and discourse.

I may well be observed from the premises, how generally the world is mistaken in the opinion is conceived of the Courtship used amongst

the *Turks*, commonly reputed by Travellers to be rude, coming much short of that quaintness, bowings, cringings & reverent postures used in Christendom. It is true the *Turks* deportment even in the most vile and mechanick vulgar, though never so mean, is carried with a strange kind of barbarity and rudeness towards the best of Christians in those parts; which proceeds rather from a sort of pride and detestation taught them by their Religion, than from any want of being instructed in their duty of due reverence to their superiours; for in their carriage one towards the other, they observe the rules and niceties of Complement with as much variety and exactness, as is exercised in *Rome*, or the most civilized Courts of Christendom; and amongst the chief Ministers there is much preciseness and caution used not to exceed the limits of that Ceremony which inferiours owe the superiours, lest they should disparage their own quality, or give occasion to the world to believe their disorderly submission to be a part of adulation. And therefore it is worthy the study of Christian Ministers employed in Embassies in the *Ottoman* Court, to be well informed in the rules and manner of their carriage in presence of the chief Ministers of State; for uncovering the head, as in Christendom is amongst them esteemed ridiculous and affrontive, and the manner of little bowings and often inclinations of the body, taken as acknowledgements of the great distance there is between the Masters they represent; and therefore a little Ceremony at the entrance, and the like at departure, with a steady and constant behaviour at the time of the treaty or discourse, is the best rule for a Christian Minister, which is interpreted amongst *Turks* as the effect of gravity and estimation of themselves; it being certain, that the contrary hath caused many Christian Ministers to fall lower in the reputation of the *Turks*, than they had deserved for their wisdom and dexterity in the management of the more substantial points of affairs.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXV.

Of the prohibition of Swines flesh and Wine.

THE five foregoing principles already treated of are (as we have said before) the essential points required towards the constitution of a true *Mahometan*; other matters are proofs and trials of their obedience; amongst which none is more enjoined than the prohibition of Swines flesh and Wine: which are called *Haram*, things abominable and forbidden. The first in reality abhorred by them, and as displeasing as the flesh of a man to civilized people, or a Dogs thigh to such as have been used to delicacies and wholesome viands. But Wine of late years, though forbidden by the Law, hath gained a better reputation, & though accursed by them, is yet accounted of so strong a temptation, that the sin is the more excusable; & though the *Alcoran* positively inhibits the use thereof, and the expositors of the Law have so far removed it from all possibility of becoming lawful, that they have determined that if Wine be spilt on the ground, and in that place grass grows, & with that pasture a Sheep or an Ox is nourished, those Cattel become *Haram*, and are as abominable as the flesh of Swine.

But notwithstanding the severe prohibitions hereof by their religion, Wine is so commonly used, that it is publicly drank without cautions or fear of giving scandal; the great men, because in office, are more careful how the world discovers the delight they take in that Liquor, lest the miscarriages of their office should be attributed to the excess of Wine; or the knowledge of their use of that which deprives them of their reason, render them incapable of their trust and dignity. For the *Turks* account it impossible to drink Wine with moderation, and are ignorant of the benefit of it for Correction of crude humours and indigestions of the stomach; and wonder to see it by *English*, *French* or *Italians* tempered with water; for unless they may drink it with full bowls, and have sufficient thereof, to give them their *Kaiff* (as they call it,) that is to transport them into a dissolute mirth, or the ridiculous actions of drunkenness, or to a surfeit or a vomit, they esteem it not worth the drinking, and a provocation to the appetite and palate to remain with a desire of demanding more.

But such as would appear Religious amongst them, and are superstitious, morose & haters of Christians, abstain wholly from Wine, and are of a Stoical pride, melancholy temper, and censorious of the whole world. These men who drink only Water and Coffee, enter into discourses of State matters, censure the actions & pass Characters on the Grandees and great Officers; *Assumit Stoicorum arrogantiam, Se Equas turbidos, & negotiorum appetentes faciat. Tac. lib. 14.* And this was the reason why the great Visier *Kupriuli*, put down the Coffee-houses in *Constantinople*, and yet privileged the Taverns; because the first were melancholy places where Seditions were vented, where reflections were made on all occurrences of state, and discontents published and aggravated; but Wine raised the spirits of men to a gay humour, and would never operate those effects to endanger his condition, as the Councils which were contrived in the Assemblies of those who addicted themselves to a more melancholy Liquor.

The

The drinking Wine in young men is esteemed amongst the extravagancies of youth, but in old men is a crime more undecent and scandalous in a higher degree. But why *Mahomet* should so severely forbid the use of wine to his Disciples is recounted in a fable on this occasion; That their Prophet being once invited by a friend to an entertainment at his house, chanced in his way thither to be detained a while at a Nuptial Feast, where the Guests raised with the chearful Spirits of the wine, were Merry, embracing, and in a kind temper each towards others, with pleasing humour *Mahomet* attributing to the effect of the wine, blessed it as a sacred thing, and so departed. But it happening that in the Evening returning again, and expecting to see the love and cares he had before blessed to be augmented, he found the house to the contrary, full of brawls, and noise, fightings, and all confusion, which he also having understood to be another effect of the Wine, changed his former blessing into a curse, and for ever after made it *Haram*, or an abomination to his disciples.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of their Morality, Good Works, and some certain of their Laws worthy of observation.

Though according to the Preceeding discourse, the character that may thence result from the nature and temperance of the *Turks*, doth not promise any long Treatise concerning their deep morality, vertues, and elevated graces: yet in the minds of all mankind though never so barbarous, God having wrote the Law of nature, and made that impression of doing right to our neighbour, which tends towards conservation of the world; we may well expect to find the same principles in the *Turks*; especially their Victories and Spoils abroad, having procured them conversation with other nations, and their wars and Treatise with Christians, having refined their minds in a good part of that rude temper they brought with them out of *Scythia*, it will not be strange for us to find amongst them men, whom Education hath made civil, polished in all points of vertuous deportment, & made *Heroes* of their Age; though I must confess I cannot applaud the generality of this people with so high encomiums, as I have read in the Books of some ingenious travellers, and do believe without partiality that they come short of the good nature & vertues are to be found in most parts of Christendom. Howsoever, wherein they conceive a great part of charity is placed, & meritorious works, it will not be unworthy nor unpleasant to consider:

And in the first place, they esteem it a good work to build houses, though from thence they obtain a rent, because it is a habitation for those who have no lands or Estates, to have them of their own. But especially such as are Princes and great men, who build *Chans* or Innes, which are receptacles for travellers at night, are ranked in the first order of sacred benefactors, and are blessed & prayed for by the weary Guests, who have found repose and refreshment through their munificence: And in these buildings the *Turks* are extraordinary Magnificent

in most parts of the Empire, having united to many of them a stately *Moschs*, Baths & Shops for Artisans and Trades-men to supply all the necessities of the Travellers; and some of them are so endowed, that every night the Guests are entertained at free cost with a convenient Supper, be their number more or less according as the *Chan* is capable to receive. The form of these buildings is for the most part according to the model of the highest and stateliest of our Halls, covered with lead though not altogether so high-roofed; yet some I have observed for their breadth & length very Magnificent; yet by reason that they have been somewhat lower, have only in that come short of the pride of the stateliest Fabricks: though in few of them are apartments for different companies, yet every one is sufficiently retired, having at a convenient distance different Chimnies for all parties of Guests to dress their meat, and in the winter for their fire; the greatest inconvenience to men of watchful spirits, & used to quiet retirements is the want of sleep, which untill I have been over-tired with labour, and accustomed thereto by divers dayes journeyes, hath been alwayes a stranger to my eyes, by reason of the molestation of various companies, some of which are alwayes awake, some mending their Carts, others dressing meat, others upon their departure, that in those publick places never want noise to disturb those who sleep but of one ear: These stately *Chans* or Innes, which with the *Moschs* are the only durable & magnificent buildings of the Empire, are the Edifices of certain great men, who fearing to be deprived of their riches by a hasty death, should they endeavour to continue them to their family, chuse to perpetuate their names and secure their conditions by these publick works.

Those who would appear of a compassionate and tender nature, hold it a pious work to buy a Bird from a cage to give him his liberty; and hold it a merciful action to buy bread and feed the Dogs, of which there is a great number of diseased Curs in all streets appropriate to no Master, but are mangy and foul, and no small causes of breeding the Plague, so frequent in all the Cities of the *Turks*. And this care of Dogs is accounted so charitable, that there are certain Laws made for the protection and maintenance of them: and it is a lighter offence to deny bread to a poor Christian who is famished in his chains, than to the Dogs of their street, which are fit for nothing but to breed Infection; and some bind themselves by a vow to give such a quantity of bread a day to the Dogs of such a Street, others bequeath it by testament; for they maintain their quarters from other wandring Curs, and joyn together in a strange manner to preserve certain limits free from others that are not whelped and bred amongst them.

The *Camel* is another sort of Beast to which the *Turks* bear not only a love, but a Religious reverence, accounting it a greater sin to over-burthen and tire them with too much labour than the Horse, because it is the beast most common to the holy parts of *Arabia*, & carries the *Alchoran* in pilgrimage; so that I have observed those who have the government of the *Camels*, when they have given water to them in a Bason, to take of the foam or froth that comes from the mouth of the Beast, and with that, as if it were some rare Balsome, with a singular devotion to anoint their Beards, & thereat with a Religious sigh groan out, *Hadgi Baba, Hadgi Baba*, which is as much as, Oh Father Pilgrim,

grim, Oh Father Pilgrim. And thus having run through the most observable points of the *Turkish Religion*, it will be now time to take a view of their Host and *Militia*, being that by which their Empire is more supported, than either by their Policy in Civil Government, or Profession in Religions.

THE

THE THIRD BOOK,

Wherein is Treated of the

Turkish Militia.

CHAP. I.

Of the present state of the Military Discipline in General amongst the Turks.



Whoever is acquainted with the state of the Turkish Empire and hath duly considered the premises of this foregoing Treatise, will easily judge that the main sinews of the *Ottoman* Kingdome consists in the force of the *Spahes*, *Janizaries*, and the other Auxiliaries; and that this Government being wholly founded upon Martial Discipline, and the Law of Arms, is most obliged to the constitutions, and supported on the Props related in this following Discourse: for this people having neither entred into the Possession of this Empire, as into an uninhabited and desert Land, as Colonies of other Nations have done into Countries new found or discovered; nor got admittance precariously from the Grecian Princes for the benefit of their Neighbourhood and commerce; but have opened their way to possession and government by meer force and power of the sword; whereby their Constitutions, Laws, Customs, and Manners of living are wholly agreeable to the warlike discipline of a Camp, and to the quickness and ready execution of Martial law: And if it be true in Morality, as it is in nature, that things are conserved by the same cause by which they are produced; it will necessarily follow, that this *Ottoman* Empire, which was begot by arms, and had *Mars* its only Father, will never be nourished by softness, and the arts and blandishments of Peace.

But he that takes a view of the *Ottoman* Armies, as described in various Histories, renowned for their Chivalry and Discipline in the times of *Sultan, Selim*, or *Solyman* the magnificent, and designs thence to extract a draught, or Copy for his present speculation, will find himself much at a loss in framing true conjectures of the puissance of the Turks, or the Rules of their Government, by comparison of former times with this present age. For that ancient sublimity and comely Majesty in the Emperor is much abated; the forces by Land decayed, and the Maritime power by ill success and unskilful and slothful Seamen, reduced to an inconsiderable condition; the Countries are dispeopled, and the Royal Revenue abated; nothing re-

mains of those plenteous stores and provisions of War, nor that Regiment and Discipline continued in peace, none of that antient observation of their Laws and Religion, nor that love and respect to the Militia, which is now become degenerate, soft, and effeminate; nor is the *Ottoman* Court so prone to remunerate the services, and exalt interest of the Cavalry, or maintain the reputation of the Janizaries. In breif there are no reliques of ancient justice, or generosity of discreet Government, or Obedience to it, of Courtisie or Concord of Valour or Council, nor yet of Confidence, Friendship, or generous Fidelity.

But though this Empire hath many of these distempers, and begins to grow factious, and yet slothful, and desirous to avoid the occasions of War, as all Governments have been which in their youth and first beginnings were eager, active, and provoked through poverty, in their riper years grown rich, and luxurious with plenty, have declined afterwards as from the meridian of their greatness and power; yet the Turks maintain still the extent of their Dominions, and if they have lost ground in one place, like the Sea, they have recovered it in another; if in *Asia* the *Persians* have taken from them *Rivan*, *Schirvan*, *Tibris*, *Lyris*, and *Ghenge*, it is but a recovery of their own Dominions; if they are dispossessed in *Ethiopia*, of *Aden*, and other parts of *Arabia Felix*, they have recompensed themselves in *Europe*, by their footing in *Candy*, and in *Hungary*, by the late conquest of *Newbansel*, and *Novigrade*, and in *Transilvania*, by the additions of *Janova* and *Waradin*.

But this Empire as vast and large as it is, is yet dispeopled, the Villages abandoned, and whole Provinces as pleasant and fruitful as *Tempe* or *Thessaly*, uncultivate and turned into a desert, or wilderness: all which desolation and ruin proceeds from the Tyranny and Rapine of the *Beglerbegs*, and *Pashaws*; who either in their journeys to the possession of their Governments, or return from thence expose the poor inhabitants to the violence and enjury of their Attendants, as if they had entered the Confines of an enemy, or the Dominions of a conquered People.

In like manner the insolence of the Horse and foot is unsupportable, for in their marches from one Country to another, Parties of 20 or 30 are permitted to make excursions into divers parts of their own Dominions, where they not onely live upon free quarter, but extort mony and cloths from the poor Vassals, taking their Children to sell for slaves, especially the *Bulgarians*, and *Servians*, and the people of *Bosna* and *Albania*, which being ignorant of the Turkish tongue are sold for *Russians*, *Hungarians*, or *Moscovites*, so that rather than be exposed to so much misery, and liffence of the Souldiery, the poor people chose to abandon their dwellings and wander into other Cities, or seek for refuge in the Mountains, or woods of the Country. In fine, though generally the Military Offices are in the same form, and the Souldiery disposed according to the ancient Rule and Canon, yet licentiousness and negligence have so prevailed in the Officers, as to introduce that corruption which renders them wholly altered, and estranged from their first discipline: For the Commanders upon every light occasion are contented to make Otoracks

or

or Stipendiaries, such as enjoy the pay and privileges of a Souldier, and yet are excused from the Wars; which they easily purchase with a small sum of money, for a scratch, or a flesh-wound gained in the Wars; wholly against the Original Institution, which designed that benefit only for maimed and disabled Souldiers; so that now there is so great a number of that Souldiery lusty and healthful, under the title of dead-mens pay, as disfurnishes the Grand Signior's Treasury and weakens his Forces.

The *Janizaries* also marrying freely, and yet dispensed with as to the absence from their duty and Chambers, apply themselves to Trades and other Studies besides the War, by which means having Children and dependencies, they are forced by other Arts than their few Aspers of daily pay, to seek the provision and maintenance of a Family; and their minds growing estranged from the War, are solicitous with the care and anxiety for a Wife and Children; and in my time, have so abhorred the thoughts of the War both in *Candy* and in *Hungary*, that many have offered great Presents to be excused; and so general hath been the dislike of all kind of Martial action for the reasons before mentioned, that at first the very rumours and discourse of War, and afterward the reality thereof, caused so general a discontent, as had, if not prudently prevented and timely suppressed, burst, into a Mutiny of the Militia; whose meer enquiry but into the reasons and grounds of the War, is little different from a Scdition.

Another Corruption hath the covetousness of the Officers produced for small presents and donatives, in owning many under the title and name of *Spahes* and *Janizaries*, which have no name or place in the Rolls, or Registers of the Souldiery; by which means many Offenders, and outlawed persons are defended by the military privileges; and the ancient honour due to Arms is prostituted for the maintenance and protection of the rascalities and scum of the world.

And this shall serve to have spoken in general of the present state of the Turkish Souldiery; we shall now proceed to the particularities of the force and numbers of the Turkish Militia, and from whence and how they are raised.

CHAP. II.

Of the Turkish Militia.

IN the twelfth Chapter of the first Book we made an estimate of the Revenue and the Riches of all the *Beglerbegs* and *Pashaws* of the Empire, by which might be collected the number of Souldiers which these great men are able out of their own Families to furnish unto the Wars; it will be now time to make a just computation in its due place, of the Forces in particular, the numbers, the Countries from whence they are raised, the several military orders, and the true puissance of the *Ottoman* Empire; which is indeed so incredibly

A a

great

great and numerous, that with good reason they have formed it into a Proverb, *That no grass grows therewhere the Turkish Horse hath once set his foot.* This speculation is absolutely necessary to a true description of the Regiment of a Country; for the Martial Constitutions are the best part of the Political Science, and Civil Laws have no vigour unless they receive their Authority by the enforcement of the Sword: This Consideration is also so necessary to the Art of a States-man that he ill studies the Geography of his Enemies Provinces, who knows not the utmost Strength it contains by Land and Sea; and is ill prepared to gain a perfect knowledge of the prudent Arts wherewith a Nation or People is conserved in Peace, who is ignorant of their Force, and Constitutions appropriated to the time of War. Wherefore we shall discourse as succinctly of this Subject as the matter will permit, and with the same certainty that one of the principal Muster-Masters of the Turkish Rolls, long practised and accurate in his Office, hath decyphered, from whose Report it self I profess to derive my Authority in this following Relation.

* Called in
Turkish *Mal-
Mukatele.*

* *Gibgi.*
* *Topci.*

The whole Turkish Militia then is of two sorts; one that receives maintenance from certain Lands or Farms bestowed on them by the Grand Signior; others that receive their constant pay in ready money. The great nerve or sinew of the Turkish Empire is that of the * first rank, which are of two sorts, viz. *Zaims*, which are like Barons in some Countries; and *Timariots*, who may be compared to the *Decumani* amongst the Romans. Those of the second sort, paid out of the Grand Signiors Treasury, are *Spahees*, *Janizaries*, * *Armonres* * *Gunn-ers*, and Sea-Souldiers called *Leuens*, who have no pay for life, or are enrolled amongst the military Orders; but only make an Agreement for five or six thousand Aspers for their voyage, which being ended, they are disbanded.

Of the Zaims and Timariots.

The nature of these two, and their Institution is the same; the only difference is in their Commissions or patents, or rather we may call them the Conveyances or Evidences for their Lands, which they have from the Grand Signior: For the Rent of a *Zaim* is from 20^m of Aspers to 99999, and no further; for adding one Asper more, it becomes the Estate of a *Sangiackbeg*, called a *Pashaw*, which is from 100000 Aspers to 19^m999; for adding one Asper more, it becomes the Revenue of a *Beglerbeg*.

The *Timariots* are of two sorts; one call'd *Tezkerelm*, who have the Evidences for their Land from the Grand Signiors Court, whose Rent is from 5 or 6000 Aspers, to 19^m999; for then with the addition of one Asper they enter the number of *Zaims*: The other sort is called *Tezkeretis*, who hath his Patent or Writing from the *Beglerbeg* of the Country, whose Rent is from 3000 to 6000 Aspers.

The *Zaims* in all Expeditions of War are obliged to serve with their Tents, which are to be furnished with Kitchens, Stables, and other necessary Appartments, agreeable to their state and Quality, And for every 5000 Aspers of Rent received from the Grand Signior; they are to bring a Horse-man into the Field, which is called *Gebeln*

as for example, one of thirty thousand Aspers is to come attended with six, one of ninety thousand with 18 Horsemen, and so proportionably: every *Zaim* is entitled *Kiilig* or sword, so that when the Turks calculate the strength or numbers that a *Beglerbeg* is able to bring into the field for the service of his prince, they make a computation upon so many *Zaims* and *Timariots* themselves, which they call so many swords, not numbering the people with which they come accompanied.

The *Timariots* are obliged to serve with lesser Tents, and to be provided with 3 or 4 Baskets for every man that attends them, for their Office is, besides fighting, as also of the *Zaims*, and *Spabees*, to carry earth, and stones for making Batteries and Trenches, whilst the *Janizaries* are in skirmish with the Enemy. And for every three thousand Aspers rent the *Timariots* are seld at a man and horse, as the *Zaim* is for every five thousand: And both one and the other of these Souldiers little differ from those in England which hold their lands in *Capite*, or the ancient tenure of Knights service.

Both *Zaims* and *Timariots* are disposed into Regiments under command of colonels, called *Alai-Begler*, who march with Colours and the * Kettle Drum: these Colonels are again under the command of the *Pashaw*, or *Sangiack-beg*, and he under the *Beglerbeg*; which Forces being united into one body, repair to the Rendezvous appointed by the * general who is either the Grand Signior in person, or the Visier *Azem*, or some other eminent person qualified with the title of Visier.

* In Turkish
Tabl. Alm.

* In Turkish
Serasker.

These two Orders of Souldiery are not only appropriated to Land-service, but some also are destined to the sea, who are called *Deria Kaleminde*, and are under the command of the Captain *Pashaw* or Admiral: but the *Zaims* are most commonly dispensed with as to the Sea-service in their own persons, upon the payment of so much money as they are esteemed at in the Signiors Books, out of which *Levends* are raised, and enrolled in the Registers of the *Arsenall*; but the *Timariots* can never be excused from their personal duty and service with their attendance of souldiery, according to the value of their Lands.

Neither the one nor the other of these can be dispensed with from their personal service at Land; no excuse in time of the Grand Signiors wars is lawful or pleadable: if sick, they are carried in Horse-Litters or beds; if infants, in Hampers, or Baskets, and in their very Cradles accustomed to the hardship, hazard, and discipline of war. And thus much shall serve in brief to have spoken in explication of the Nature of the *Zaims* and *Timariots*, which come under the general denomination of *Spabees*, and compose the best part of the Turkish Armies; we shall now proceed to declare, as far as can probably be computed, the number of these Horse which fill up the vast Host that hath overspread so large a proportion of the world.

CHAP. III.

A Computation of the numbers of the Forces arising from the Zaims and Timariots.

IT were a work of too great labour considering the little satisfaction and delight it would afford the Reader, to proceed accurately in describing the just numbers of those which follow these *Zaims* and *Timariots*; it will be sufficient to denote, that the smallest number of a *Zaim* is four men, and is the greatest of a *Timariot*, whose lowest condition is obliged to maintain a single man, and the highest of a *Zaim* to serve with nineteen; so that whosoever will survey this Turkish Host must make his Calculate a little more or less by conjecture and judgement.

And this difficulty is the more augmented, when I consider the fraud is used by the Accomptants, Registers, and Muster-Masters of the Grand Signiors Enrolments, who are as well acquainted with the arts and sweetnesse of making false Musters as they are in the most ingenious places of Christendom; and perhaps Policy may afford a connivance to this fraud, for the sake of a superlative face of their Armies; which they love to express by this usual similitude, *Asker reml deria misal*, As innumerable as the sands of the Sea shore: but in effect the noise is greater than the reality, and he that will sum up their number, may find Arithmetick to make the account, which by the vast extent of Tents, confusion of Baggage, train of servants, and attendants of the Camp, appears infinite in the popular estimation. Besides the Turkish Armie admits of great increase and decrease by the many Interlopers, as we may call them, which the *Zaims* for their own honour introduce to fill up their numbers on a day of muster, or appearance; so that one would admire to see, in so short a time so apparent a decay in the Turkish camp: which abuse, the great and famous Visier *Mahomet Koprulî* with cruelty and extraordinary severity endeavoured to remedy upon his expedition for recovery of *Tenedos* and *Lemnos*; and conquest of *Janona* in *Transylvania*; but it is impossible for one man to know, and see, and remedy all disorders, and is amongst the Turks called *Ain oin* a secret fraud, as difficult to be totally remedied as it is to be thoroughly discovered.

But that which makes the principall difference and various change herein, is the death of *Zaims* and *Timariots*; some of which holding an estate onely for life, and others dying without heirs of their bodies their Lands revert to the Crown: Which Estates being improved by the industry of the possessors, above the primary valuation in the Records, and afterwards falling into the hands of the Prince, are bestowed again on others according to their true estimate, which is oftentimes double of the former. By which means, the number of the Grand Signiors Souldiery is increased; and it is a point very observable, that as other Princes lose by the fall, and death of their subjects; the Grand Signior is the only gainer, for of the most that are slain in a day of Battel, the Estates accrue to him, in disposal again of which he

Note.

he observes this Rule, to gratifie many with that which was before the proportion of a single person.

But to come now to the exprefs and distinct account of the *Ziamets* and *Timariots* in every part and Government of the Empire this Computation is extracted out of the Imperial Rolls, and Registers of the Grand Signior.

In the Government of *Anatolia* are reckoned as follows; in the

	<i>Sangiacks</i>	<i>Ziamets</i>	<i>Timariots</i>		
Of	<i>Kiotahia</i>	39	948	} So that computing at the lowest rate 4 <i>Gebelues</i> to every <i>Zaim</i> with them and their followers, must make Doubling the number of <i>Timariots</i> at the lowest rate makes In all For maintenance of which Army, the Rents in the <i>Ottoman</i> Statutes are, Aspers	1180 14880 16060 37310760
	<i>Saruban</i>	41	674		
	<i>Aidin</i>	19	572		
	<i>Kastamoni</i>	24	570		
	<i>Hudawendighiar</i>	42	1005		
	<i>Boli</i>	14	551		
	<i>Mentesche</i>	52	381		
	<i>Angura</i>	10	257		
	<i>Karabiflar</i>	10	615		
	<i>Tekeili</i>	7	257		
	<i>Kiangri</i>	7	381		
	<i>Hamid</i>	9	585		
	<i>Sultan Ughi</i>	7	390		
	<i>Karefi</i>	7	242		
	<i>Jenife hisar</i>	7	12		

Zaim is the person, and *Ziamet* the Land for maintenance of the *Zaim*.

80 Aspers makes a Dollar or a piece of 8.

Total of *Ziamets* are 295 and 7440 *Timariots*

There were farther in past times allotted to the attendance of this Army about 6900 men for mending the ways, bringing provisions, and service of the Artillery; there was also an allowance for 1280 *Sutlers*, or *Victualers* of the Camp, and for 128 Trumpeters, and Drummers, which were *Gypsies*; but this was when *Anatolia* was a Frontier Country to the Christians, and was therefore better fortified and accommodated; but since it is become one of the innermost parts of the Empire, that Rent is converted into the possessions of *Zaims* and *Timariots*, so that there is a farther addition of 330 *Ziamets* and 1136 *Timariots*.

In the Government of *Caramania* are reckoned

	<i>Sangiacks</i>	<i>Ziamets</i>	<i>Timariots</i>		
Which make	<i>Iconium</i>	18	512	} The <i>Gebelues</i> of the <i>Zaims</i> at the lowest rate are Of <i>Timariots</i> at the same accompt Which makes in all The Rent according to the <i>Ottoman</i> Statutes is, Aspers	292 4900 4892 10500175
	<i>Nighde</i>	11	355		
	<i>Kaisairi</i>	12	144		
	<i>Jenischeher</i>	13	244		
	<i>Akscheher</i>	6	122		
	<i>Kyrscheher</i>	4	430		
	<i>Aksarai</i>	9	358		
		73	2165		

In

In the Government of *Diarbekir* are reckoned 12 *Sangiacks* besides those of *Kinrdiskaw* and *Gurdia*, which are computed to make 1800 men; but I finde only 9 denoted for the *Ziamets* and *Timariots*, viz.

<i>Sangiacks</i>	<i>Ziamets</i>	<i>Timariots</i>	
<i>Amed</i>	9	167	The <i>Gebelues</i> of the <i>Zaims</i> at the lowest rate will make
<i>Charpurt</i>	70	163	
<i>Ezani</i>	10	122	The <i>Gebelues</i> of <i>Timariots</i> at the same rate will make
<i>Sipurek</i>	0	1	
<i>Nesbin</i>	1	5	
<i>Chafengbif</i>	5	30	
<i>Tebemescherek</i>	2	7	The Rent is not described of this Country in the <i>Ottoman</i> Statutes.
<i>Kuleb</i>	3	24	
<i>Sangiar</i>	6	21	
Which make	106	540	

In the Government of the *Beglerbeg* of *Damascus*, called in Turkish *Scham*, are 7 *Sangiacks*,

<i>Sangiacks</i>	<i>Ziamets</i>	<i>Timariots</i>	
<i>Damascus</i>	87	337	The <i>Gebelues</i> of the <i>Zaims</i> at the former rate
<i>Jerusalem</i>	9	161	
<i>Aglum</i>	4	61	The <i>Gebelues</i> of <i>Timariots</i>
<i>Bahura</i>	9	39	
<i>Sifad</i>	5	123	In all
<i>Gaza</i>	7	108	
<i>Nabulos</i>	7	44	
Which make	128	873	

In the Government of the *Beglerbeg* of *Livas*

<i>Sangiacks</i>	<i>Ziamets</i>	<i>Timariots</i>	
<i>Livas</i>	48	928	The <i>Gebelues</i> of the <i>Zaims</i> at the former rate
<i>Amassa</i>	19	249	
<i>Tchurum</i>	16	310	The <i>Timariots</i>
<i>Buzadick</i>	13	731	
<i>Demurki</i>	1	310	In all
<i>Gianik</i>	7	348	
<i>Arebki</i>	2	153	The Rent for maintenance hereof
Which make	108	3029	

177

Sangiacks Ziamets Timariots

The <i>Gebelnes</i> of the <i>Zaims</i>	488
at the former rate	1096
The <i>Timariots</i>	
in all	<hr/> 11584

Sangiacks Ziamets Timariots

The <i>Gebelues</i> of the <i>Zaims</i> at the former rate make	740
The <i>Timariots</i> .	1652
In all	2392

Sangiacks Ziamets Timariots

The <i>Gebelnes</i> of the <i>Zaims</i> at the former rate make	108
The <i>Timariots</i>	1024

9420317

Sangiacks Ziamets Timariots

The <i>Gebelnes</i> of the <i>Zaims</i> at the former rate make	160
The <i>Timariots</i>	2134
	<hr/>
	2294

In

In the Government of the *Beglerbeg* of *Tripoli* in *Syria* are,

<i>Sangiacks</i>	<i>Ziamets</i>	<i>Timariots</i>		<i>Zaims</i> at
<i>Tripoli</i>	12	87	The <i>Gebelues</i> of the the former rate make <i>Timariots</i>	250 1140 <hr/> 1390
<i>Hams</i>	15	169		
<i>Gebele</i>	9	91		
<i>Selemie</i>	4	52		
<i>Hamaz</i>	23	171		
	<hr/> 63	<hr/> 570		

In the Government of the *Beglerbeg* of *Rika* are.

<i>Sangiacks</i>	<i>Ziamets</i>	<i>Timariots</i>		<i>Zaims</i> at the
<i>Rika</i>	30	143	The <i>Gebelues</i> of the former rate make Of the <i>Timariots</i>	240 1332 <hr/> 1572
<i>Serug</i>	9	291		
<i>Biregek</i>	15	109		
<i>Anc</i>	6	123		
	<hr/> 60	<hr/> 666		

In the Government of the *Beglerbeg* of *Trabexondare* are no *Sangiacks* as is declared in the First Book; yet within the Jurisdiction of the City it self are 56 *Ziamets*, and 398 *Timariots*; So as the computation of that place is of 920 men.

In the Government of the *Beglerbeg* of *Aleppo* are,

<i>Sangiacks</i>	<i>Ziamets</i>	<i>Timariots</i>		<i>Zaims</i> at the
<i>Aleppo</i>	73	295	The <i>Gebelues</i> of the former rate make Of the <i>Timariots</i>	468 2088 <hr/> 2556
<i>Adana</i>	11	191		
<i>Kelis</i>	17	295		
<i>Azir</i>	2	91		
<i>Balis</i>	7	86		
<i>Mearre</i>	7	86		
	<hr/> 117	<hr/> 1044		

In the Government of the *Beglerbeg* of *Tehilder* are,

<i>Sangiacks</i>	<i>Ziamets</i>	<i>Timariots</i>		<i>Zaims</i> at the
<i>Olti</i>	3	123	The <i>Gebelues</i> of the former rate make Of <i>Timariots</i>	424 1318 <hr/> 1742
<i>Erdehamburek</i>	9	86		
<i>Hagreek</i>	2	23		
<i>Harins</i>	13	39		
<i>Ardnug</i>	4	149		
<i>Pufenhaf</i>	11	18		
<i>Penbek</i>	8	54		
<i>Tarchir</i>	2	7		
<i>Luri</i>	9	10		

Wstucha

<i>Ostucha</i>	1	7
<i>Achankiulk</i>	11	37
<i>Achtala</i>	6	6
<i>Afen</i>	4	14
<i>Penbeck</i>	14	89
<i>Pertekrek</i>	9	0
	<hr/> 106	<hr/> 659

In the Government of the Captain *Pashaw*, or Lord Admiral, are,

<i>Sangiacks</i>	<i>Ziamets</i>	<i>Timariots</i>		
<i>Negropont.</i>	12	188	The <i>Gebelues</i> of the <i>Zaims</i> at the former proportion make	500
<i>Mytilene.</i>	4	83		
<i>Kogia ile.</i>	25	187		
<i>Sifla.</i>	32	235	Of <i>Timariots</i>	2304
<i>Karliili.</i>	11	119		<hr/> 2804
<i>Galipoli.</i>	14	32		
<i>Rhodes.</i>	5	71	For maintenance of which the	
<i>Betgai.</i>	5	146	Rent set down in the <i>Ottoman</i> Sta-	
<i>Mezefstra.</i>	16	91	tutes is <i>Aspers</i>	10800000
	<hr/> 124	<hr/> 1152		

In the Government of the *Beglerbeg* of *Rumeli*, otherwise *Romania*, are,

<i>Sangiacks</i>	<i>Ziamets</i>	<i>Timariots</i>		
<i>Sophia</i>	337	1788		
<i>Kiofendill</i>	48	1017		
<i>Morea</i>	100	242		
<i>Alexandria</i>	1			
of <i>Epyrus</i>	19	205	The <i>Zaims</i> with their <i>Gebelues</i> at	
<i>Tirbala</i>	26	525	the former proportion make	4500
<i>Silifstra</i>	75	432	The <i>Timariots</i>	16388
<i>Nigheboli</i>	60	344		
<i>Uchri</i>	60	342	This the lowest rate	20688
<i>Aulona</i>	68	489		
<i>Jania</i>	62	345	But the ordinary computation of	
<i>Ilbasan</i>	18	138	the <i>Zaims</i> and <i>Timariots</i> in this	
<i>Tchirmen</i>	20	130	place with their <i>Gebelues</i> , is of about	
<i>Salonica</i>	36	262	30200 fighting men, or thereabouts;	
<i>Wize</i>	20	79	to which is added the Souldiers of the	
<i>Delunia</i>	24	165	<i>Beglerbeg</i> , <i>Sangiabegs</i> , and other	
<i>Uskiup</i>	20	344	Officers, which commonly amount to	
<i>Kerklesfa</i>	1	18	2500. The Militia maintained with the	
<i>Dukakin</i>	10	53	Lands of the Country may be compu-	
<i>Widin</i>	17	225	ted at 32700, or 33000 men.	
<i>Alagehizar</i>	27	509		
<i>Serzerin</i>	17	225		
<i>Waltcarin</i>	10	317		
	<hr/> 1075	<hr/> 8194		

B b 2

Besides

Besides this Militia in *Romania*, there is another sort called *Jureghian* or *Jurukler*, who have their Estates in Fee from Father to Son, of which there are accounted about 1294 Families: There is also another sort in the Province of *Dobridge*, called * *Ogiacks*, of which there are about 4000 Houses: Of the same kinde in the Province of *Kizilgè* are 200 Houses: in *Tchirmen* 351 of *Cingani*, which are the same as amongst us the Race of the *Gypsies*; in *Wize* 170: So that the whole sum of *Ogiacks* may arrive to the number of 4721, or at most to 5000. These are obliged every year to draw out of every thirty persons five, called *Eschkingi* or volunteers, who are to joyn themselves with the *Tartars* for making Excursions into *Russia*, *Poland*, or other parts; and so yearly they interchangeably take their course. The other 25 remaining are called *Jamak*, and are not obliged personally to serve when the Grand Signiors Wars call them to employment; but then for every 5000 Aspers Rent they possess of the Grand Signiors Lands, they are fessed at one man, who are assigned to serve out of those whose turn it was that year to have accompanied the *Tartars* in their Robberies. The principal Office of these is to attend the Artillery, Baggage, and Provisions, to mend the Ways and Bridges for passage of the Army. To the like Service are obliged certain Families of *Bulgarians*, for carriage of Hay, and cutting Grass, according to the Season of the Year.

The number of the *Zaims* and *Timariots* in the Governments of the *Beglerbegs* of *Buda*, *Temswar*, and *Bosna*, I find not particularly described in *Ottoman* Books; but however according to the best information, that Militia on the Confines of the empire called *Serhadly*, amount to the number of about 70000 fighting men, paid out of the Rents of the *Sangiacks* of that Country. But though the Militia of *Buda* be not set down in the Registers of more ancient date at *Constantinople*, because it is as it were a principality independent both for its eminency, Revenue, and large extent of Dominions; yet in that City it self is strict order observed, and the Rolls of their force most exactly known and computed; to which the Turks have a strict eye, it being a frontier Garrison of much importance, and the Key of *Hungary*; the Militia of which, as I learned from Officers of note, during my residence in that place, was according to this precise account: Of

<i>Janizaries</i>	12000	called <i>Cuchuc Cappe</i>	300
<i>Spahes</i>	1500	<i>Topgees</i> , or <i>Gunners</i>	500
<i>Zaims</i> and <i>Timariots</i>	2200	<i>Martoloes</i> , a sort of Foot-	
<i>Azaps</i> , which are the mean-		Souldiers	300
est sort of Souldiery,	1800	Souldiers belonging to the	
Belonging to the Castle of		powder-house	280
<i>Badu</i>	1200	The Souldiery who are	
<i>Jebeges</i> , or <i>Armonrers</i>	1900	Servants to the <i>Pashaw</i>	3000
The Guard at the Gate			

In all 22180; to which adding the Militia of *Bosna*, and other parts of *Sclavonia*, and all along the Frontier Countries, which extends for

for above 800 English miles, the number may amount to no less than 70000 fighting men. But we here discourse only of the number of the *Zaims* and *Timariots*, which whole sum amounts to, of *Zaims* 10948, and of *Timariots* 72436; which makes in all 83380; but this is calculated at the lowest rate, they may very well be reckoned to be one third more, besides other Militia's of *Cairo*, or other orders of Souldiery to be treated of in the following Chapters.

These Partitions or Divisions were first made by *Solyman* the Magnificent, as the best Rule and Method for an orderly disposition of his Militia, and as the strongest nerve of the *Ottoman* Force: but as with time in the most exact compositions of Discipline, corruptions through covetousness and ambition of officers are introduc'd; so also in the just disposal of these rents according to the ancient institutions: for the *Beglerbeks*, *Pashaws*, *Treasurers*, and other officers, instead of bestowing this maintenance to the Souldiers, according to their merits of Valour or long Service, reserve it to prefer and gratifie their Servants and Pages, obliging them in recompence thereof under various Services; some that live at *Constantinople*, or near the Sea, to defray the charges of all Boats and Vessels which carry their household Provisions; others that live in the inland Countries agreeing with the Treasurer of the Souldiery, without regard to the true Heirs, or any other consideration, set to sale these Rents to them who profer most; so that in time of Harvest the *Pashaw* sends abroad his officers to gather his Profits from the poor *Timariots*, with that oppression and violence as causes disturbances, differences, and Lawsuits amongst them, which being to be decided by judges partly interess'd in the Quarrel, the Sentence is certainly determined on their side who have most power and most money.

The foregoing account of *Zaims* and *Timariots* is the most reasonable one can be given: And because we have reckoned them at the lowest rate, making some allowance to the 83380, this Militia may amount to an hundred thousand men, which, as I have heard, is the utmost number of this sort of Souldiery.

CHAP. IV.

Of certain Customs and Laws observed amongst the Ziamets and Timariots.

Amongst these Forces of *Ziamets* and *Timariots* are in time of War and Action mixed certain Volentiers or Adventurers, called by the Turks *Giounulls*, who maintain themselves upon their own expence in hopes by some signal Actions of Valour to obtain the succession into a *Zaims* or *Timariots* Lands, as places are made void by the slaughter of the War. These men are often very hardy and ready to attempt the most desperate Exploits, moved by a desire of the reward, and by the perswasion, that at worst dying in a war against Christians, they become Martyrs for the Mahomite Faith. It is reported,

ported, that in one day, upon the assaults given *Sorinswar*, or the new Fort of Count *Serini*, one *Timariots* Farm was bestowed eight times; one being slain it was conferred on another, and soon a third and so on the rest; all which had the misfortune to fall, untill it rested on the eighth, the others dying with the title only of *Timariots*.

The *Zaims* or *Timariots* being aged, or impotent, have in their life time power to resign up the right of their estates to their Sons, or other Relations.

It is not lawful for a Peasant or Clown to mount his Horse, or girt his Sword like a *spahie*, untill first he hath had part of his Education in the Service or Family of some *Pashaw*, or person of Quality; unless it be on the Confines of the Empire, where having given evident Testimonies of his Courage, he may then become Competitor for the vacant Farms of a *Zaim* or *Timariot*.

It is the Custom of *Romania*, that a *Zaim*, or *Timariot* dying in the Wars, his *Zaims* rents are divided into as many *Timariot* Farms as he hath Sons; but if a *Timariot* hath no more than 3000 *Aspers* Rent, it descends entirely to his eldest Son; but if it be more, it is proportionably divided amongst the rest of his Children.

But if they die of a natural death at their own homes, the lands fall to the disposal of the *Beglerbeg* of the Country, either to confer them on the Heirs of the deceased, on any of his Servants, or sell them at the best advantage.

But in *Anatolia* there are many *Zaims* and *Timariots* whose Estates are hereditary to them and their Heirs; and are not obliged to serve in person in the war, but only to send their *Gebeles*, or number of Servants according to the value of their Estates; of which duty if they fail in the time of War, the years Rent is confiscated to the Exchequer; and this Estate descends to the next of Kin, whether derived from the Male or Female line.

CHAP. V.

The State of the Militia in Gran Cairo, and Egypt.

THE Guard and protection of the Kingdom of *Egypt* is committed to the charge of twelve *Begs*, some of which are of the ancient Race of the *Mamelukes*, confirmed by *Sultan Selin* upon the taking of *Cairo*; these have the command of the whole Militia in their hands, whereby they are grown proud, powerful, and ready upon every discontent to rise in rebellion; every one of these maintains 500 fighting men, well appointed for war, and exercised in Arms, which serve but as their Guard, and for Servants of their Court; with which they go attended in journeys, in their huntings, and publick appearances; under the command of these twelve Captains are twenty thousand Horse, payd at the charge of the Country, whose Office is by turns to convey yearly the Pilgrims to *Mesha*, and the annual tribute of 60000 *Zechins* to the *Ottoman* Court, whether it be judged requisite to send it either by Land or Sea; these are the standing Militia of the Country, out of which, unless upon the fore-
going

going occasions, they are not obliged to other service; their principal duty being, to prevent the invasion of the *African* mountaneers, who often make incursions from their barren Rocks, into the fat and fruitful Soils of *Egypt*. Besides this Militia, are computed eighty thousand *Timariots*, out of which they yearly transport about 2500 or 3000 men to the wars of *Candy*; but to more remote Countries, or the late wars of *Hungary*, I did not hear that this Souldiery hath usually been called.

These twelve *Beghs* of *Egypt* are noble by blood, enjoying an hereditary Estate descending from the Father to the Son; which richness joyned with the command of a powerful Army, hath rendered them so formidable and insolent, that oftentimes they take upon them an authority to imprison and depose the *Pashaw* from his Office, and spoil him of all the riches he hath collected in his three years government: by which means, are always great jealousies, and enmities between the *Pashaw* and these *Beghs*; dissensions and rebellions to that high degree, that many times it hath been little different from an absolute Revolt. *Ibrahim Pashaw* was in the year 1664 imprisoned by them, and obtained his liberty for *600 purses of money; after whose departure the brother of the said *Ibrahim*, upon some certain pretences on the *Pashaw's* score, falling into their hands, was imprisoned also, but shortly after obtained his release by the Grand *Signiors master of Horse, who was sent expressly to compose the disorders of *Egypt*; which were now proceeded to that decree, as without some satisfactory atonement could not be termed otherwise than a total defection; and therefore they resigned up one called *Sulficar Bei* to justice, who *being brought to *Adrianople*, was immediately in presence of the Grand Signior put to death. But the Turk hath always on occasions of these disturbances and insolences, dissembled and connived at the disorders, perceiving the distemper of that Kingdom to be such, as can with much difficulty be redressed, fearing that were forcible remedies applied, they would cause so violent a commotion of humours, as would absolutely rent it from the body of the Empire.

About 100000
Dollars at
Cairo.

* Called *Em-
bra hora.*

* In the
month of Feb.
1664.

The Auxiliary Forces to the forementioned Militia of the Turks,

Are the *Tartars*, *Valachians*, *Moldavians*, and *Transilvanians*, under the command of their respective Princes. Who are obliged to serve in person whensoever called by the Sultans command. The *Tartars*, I mean of *Crim*, are to furnish a hundred thousand men with the *Tartarhan*, or Prince in person to lead them, when the Grand Signior himself appears in the field; but if the Army is commanded by the Visier only, then the Son of the *Tartarhan* is to serve; or having no issue, the Army to the number of 40 or 50 thousand fighting men, is to be conducted under the chief Minister. But the Princes of *Valachia*, *Moldavia*, and *Transilvania* are never excused from personal attendance in the Camp, each of which respectively are to be attended with six or seven thousand men a piece. And though the Prince of *Transilvania* called *Apafi*, was in the last War against the Emperor not called out of the Confines of his own Country; it was with design that

that he should keep that Station free from the irruption of the Enemy not that he was disobliged from his personal attendance on the Vifiers Camp:

CHAP. VI.

Of the Spahees.



A. Spink.

Hitherto we have treated of the Turkish Horse that are maintained by Farms, and Rents of Lands: now it will be necessary to discourse of those that receive their constant pay from the Grand Signiors Treasury; and these are called *Spahees*, who may not improperly be termed the Gentry of the *Ottoman* Empire, because they are commonly better educated, courteous and refined, than the other sort of Turks, and are in number 12000. Of these there are two Orders, one called *Silaktari*, who carry yellow Colours, and the other *Spahaglar* or the Servants of the Spahees, and have their Colours red; these Servants have now obtained the precedency above their Masters; for though the *Silaktari* are very ancient, and deduce their institution from *Ali* their first Founder, who was one of the four Companions of *Mahomet*; yet *Sultan Mahomet* the third, on a day of Battel

Battel in *Hungary*, seeing the *Silahteri* routed and put to flight, with violent passion and earnestness endeavoured to stop their course; and perceiving the Servants of these *Spahes* to remain still in a body, incited them to revenge the shamefull cowardise of their Masters, who immediately encouraged with the words of the *Sultan*, clapping up a red Flag, gave so bold an onset on the Enemy, and with that success as wholly recovered the glory of the day: in remembrance of which service and notable exploit, the *Sultan* as disposer of all Honours and Orders, gave ever after the preheminance to these Servants before their Masters; since which time this new institution of *Spahaglary* hath alwaies been continued.

These light-Horse-men are armed with their Scimitar and Lance, Their Arms called by them *Mizrak*, and some carry in their hands a *Gerit*, which is a weapon about two foot long, headed with Iron, which I conceive to be the same with the *Pila* amongst the Romans, which by long exercise and custom they throw with a strange dexterity and violence, and sometimes darting it before them in the full career of their Horse, without any stop recover it again from the ground: they also wear a straight Sword named *Caddare*, with a broad blade fixed to the side of their Saddle, which, or the Scimitar, they make use of when they arrive to handy-blows with the Enemy; many of them are armed with Bows and Arrows, and with Pistols, and Carbines; but esteem not much of fire-Arms, having an opinion, that in the field they make more noise than execution: some of them wear jacks of Mail and Head-pieces painted with the colour of their Squadron; in fight they begin their onset with *Allah, Allah*, and make three attempts to break within the Ranks of the Enemy, in which if they fail, they then make their retreat.

The *Asian Spahes* are better mounted than commonly those of *Europe*, though these being Borderers on the Confines of the Christians having learned much of their Discipline by constant skirmishes and combats, are trained in the Art of War, and become the more valiant and experienced Souldiers. But the *Asiatick Spahes* were formerly the more rich, many particular men of them bringing into the field, thirty or forty men apiece, besides their Led-Horses, Tents and other accommodations proportionable to their retinue; but these Cavaliers seemed too great and proud to the Vizier *Kupriuli*, for the condition of common Troopers, and infected with the Epidemical Spirit of Faction and Mutiny, which raged at that time amongst all the Grandees of the Empire; which caused him to strike off their heads with as little remorse, as one would do the tops of Poppies, untill he had absolutely made a destruction of them. Those now which remain are poor and inconsiderable, contented to comrade 10 or 12 in a Company, for maintenance of a poor Tent, and 2 or 3 Horses and a Mule for Baggage and Provisions; these are more tame, and subject to the Cudgel, and can take a beating patiently on the soles of the feet, which is their punishment, as the *Janizaries* is to receive the blows on the Buttocks; (that so this chastisement may neither incommode the seat of the Horsemen, nor the marches of the foot) but if the crime be great and Capital, they are sent for by *Chiausets*,
Cc or

Comparison
of the Spahes
of Asia and
Europe.

or Pursuivants to appear before the Vizier, by whom being condemned, and strangled neer the Walls of the Grand Signiors *Seraglio*, their bodies are afterwards about two or three hours in the night thrown into the Sea, without other solemnity than the firing of one of those great Guns next the Sea, which are planted under the Walls of the *Seraglio*, which serve for so many warning pieces for others Example.

Their pay.

Their pay is diverse, but in general, it is from twelve to a hundred Aspers a day: those who proceed from the *Seraglioes* of *Pera*, *Ibrahim*, *Pashaw* and *Adrianople*, which are so many Nurseries and Schools as well of the principles of War, as literature; or have been Cooks Mates (for the Cook of these Societies is a principal Officer of respect) or *Baltagees*, that is, Hatchet-men, who cut wood for the Grand Signiors *Seraglio*, and are licensed to live abroad with the title of *Spahee*, have the lowest pay of twelve Aspers a day; but those who are extracted from the less, or greater Chamber of the Grand Signiors own *Seraglio*, called *Seni serai*, have 19 Aspers pay, and if they are favoured with the title of an Office, they receive two or three Aspers augmentation. But such as are elected to the War out of more eminent Chambers, as the Landery, the Turbant Office, the Dispensatory, the * Treasury, the * Falconers Lodge and others, (which we have mentioned in the Description of the *Seraglio*) have, at first thirty Aspers daily pay: an * encrease of which is obtained sometimes by the Viziers, or Registers favour unto two Aspers more; sometimes by services in the War, by receiving two Aspers augmentation for the head of every Enemy he brings in; two Aspers more for * intelligence of the death of any *Spahee*, out of the pay of the deceased; as also at the Incoronation, or Instalement of every Grand Signior, five Aspers increase is given as a donative general to the whole Army of *Spahees*: and thus many of them by art, industry, and good success go augmenting untill they arrive to a hundred Aspers, and here is their *non plus ultra*, they can rise no higher. They are paid quarterly from three months to three months; which they may omit to receive for 9 months, but if twelve pass, they can only demand the nine, the other quarter, or more is confiscated to the public Exchequer: Their place of payment is now in the Hall of the Vizier, which formerly was in the houses of the Pay-Masters, and Treasurer, but changed by the Vizier *Kupriuli*, on occasion of the disorders and abuses of the Officers which caused mutinies, and disturbances amongst the Souldiery. For the rich *Spahees* living far distant, to excuse themselves from a long journey to the City, agreed with the Pay-Masters that they for some certain part of their income, should without farther trouble to themselves, take up their dues, and make it over quarterly to their Countries of abode; these men thus tasting the benefit of this trade, agreed with others for some little gains to dispatch them before the rest, by which means and the payment only on Wednesdays, and Saturdays, those *Spahees* that came from remote parts, making so long attendance, had with their excesses in *Constantinople* spent as much as the principal sum they expected; of which growing sensible, at first they began to murmur, then to threaten the Pay-Masters, and at last it proceeded to open mutiny, by forcing the doors, breaking the windows of the Officers, with ma-

ny

* Killer Odafi.
Haxna Odafi.
Dogangi Odafi.
* Called *Turaki*.

* This is done that the Grand Signior may not be cheated by having the pay continued to those who are dead.

ny other insolencies and disorders, untill *Kaprinli*, to remedy these abuses, ordered the mony to be given out in his presence, and the payment to be continued every day untill the pay was ended.

The Sons of *Spahees*, presenting themselves before the Vizier, may claim the privilege of being enrolled in the Grand Signiors Books; but their pay, which is the lowest rate twelve Aspers a day, is to issue forth from their Fathers proportion, but then they are in the road of preferment, and are capable by their services and merits to make additions upon foundation of their own industry. Besides the foregoing ways by which the *Spahees* gain their encrease of pay, I am given to understand that formerly they had another benefit, called *Gulamie* or safe conduct mony; which was one per cent. of all monies to those whom the Collectors of the Grand Signiors Revenue summoned to convey the Treasure for more security to the Capital City, besides the maintenance of themselves and Horses in the journey; but this as too chargeable a deduction from the Imperial Revenue was with time taken off, to the great discontent of the *Spahees* in general.

Sons of *Spahees*.

Accidental gains to the *Spahees*.

The Grand Signior going in person to the wars, according to the ancient Custome of other Sultans bestows a largess on the *Spahees*, of five thousand Aspers a man, which they call *Sadack Akchiafi*, or a donative for buying Bows and Arrows; as also to the *Janizaries*, as we shall hereafter mention.

This Army of *Spahees* is in the War a meer confused multitude without any Government, or distribution into Troops or Regiments, but march in heaps, fight without order, little account kept of their presence or absence from the Camp; only at the pay in the month of * *November* whosoever appears not, unless favoured by the Officers, hath his name rased from the Grand Signiors Register.

Their Discipline

* Called in Turkish *Kafsim Ulsifi*.

Their duty in the War is to stand Centinel with a *Janizary* at the end of every cord at the Grand Signiors Pavilion, as also at the Viziers, armed with his Cemitar, Bows, Arrows, and Lance, mounted on Horse-back; as the *Janizary* on foot with his Sword and Musket and also the charge of the Treasure for payment of the Militia, is committed in the field to their custody.

This Order of Souldiers was in ancient times in great esteem and honour in all parts of the Empire, by reason of their accomplishment in Learning, refined Education in the Imperial Court, their nearness to preferments, and acquaintance and interest with the Grandees of the Empire: The place of the *seliktari* in their marches to the Warre, was to flank the Grand Signior on the left hand, and the *Spahi Oglani* on the right, and were alwayes the ultimate reserve of the Battel, as the Life-guard to the Sultan: But like men not knowing how to comport themselves in prosperity, growing mutinous and ambitious to have a hand in the Government, became Confederates with the *Janizaries* in conspiracy against the life of their true Sovereign Sultan *Osman*; to which Treason adding other Insolencies, they justly were deprived of the favour of Sultan *Morat*, and Sultan *Ibrahim*; the terrours also of their late sedition remaining freshly still impressed in the memory of this present Emperor Sultan *Mahomet*, when they conspired against his own and his Mothers life, is the cause

How they have lost their honour.

they have still gone declining from the degree of their pristine honour and esteem ; for the Prince as he is the Fountain of Honour, so is his countenance and favour the spirit and life which gives a lustre and sparkling to those Titles and Riches he hath conferred ; other Seditious hastned the ruine of their reputation, and in the year 1657, when the Vizier *Mahomet Kupruli*, on occasion of his Expedition against *Janova*, summoned the *Asian Spahes* to the Rendezvous in *Hungary* ; who instead of yielding obedience to the command of their General, elected a new Captain a *Spahie* of their own rank, called *Hassan Aga*, preferred to be *Pashaw* of *Aleppo* : whose name at that time, I remember upon the hopes of the dissensions he might create amongst the Turks, was greatly famed and celebrated over all Christendom. These Combustions in *Asia* headed by the chief Enemy to the Vizier, caused *Kupruli* to leave many of his designs against *Transylvania* unexecuted, and to clap up a Peace on reasonable and moderate terms of honour, that so he might hinder the progress of a dangerous evil which now threatned and approached the Capital City ; for by this time *Hassan Pashaw* being arrived near the walls of *Scutara*, began to treat by way of Petition to the Grand Signior, and represent that out of his zeal to the good of his Majesty and his Empire, he had undertaken a long march to inform him of the corruption of his Ministers and the miscarriages of Government ; his tender years as yet not having ripened his judgement to penetrate these evils, which with time his understanding would discover to be too inveterate and incurable. All the oppressions and aggrivances of the Souldiery he seemed to object to the cruelty and oppression of *Kupruli*, and in appearance had nothing but thoughts of the honour and safety of the Grand Signiors person ; and doubtless this man was unfit to manage such a design, for he entertained scruples of Conscience, and a remorse and tenderness in spilling Mahometan blood, considerations which are incompatible with the condition of a Rebel ; for who hath the impiety to draw his Sword against his Prince, must stop at no bars either of divine or humane right to maintain it. This gave advantage to *Kupruli* to effect his design upon his Enemy ; for in the interim of this Treaty, *Mortaza Pashaw* of *Babylon*, was commanded to possess the City of *Aleppo*, and *Hassan* after many fair messages and promises from the Grand Signior and the Vizier, was perswaded to return again to *Aleppo*, to capitulate with *Mortaza* concerning those points and aggrivances he sought to have redressed ; it being alledged to him, that *Mortaza* had received instructions to treat, and a plenipotentiary power to grant and firm as far as should be reasonable and honourable for the Grand Signior to condescend. *Hassan* with this easie answer returned toward *Aleppo* ; neer which place he credulously committed himself into the hands of *Mortaza*, who no sooner had him within his Tents, but he concluded all Controversies and Capitulations by the decision of his head from his body : The whole Army of *Spahes* immediately, with the fall of their General, was scattered, and divided themselves ; but about three hundred of them being apprehended by *Mortaza*, were sent to *Constantinople*, where in the presence of the Grand Signior within the walls of the *Seraglio* at *Scutari* they were all executed ; since which their pride hath ever gone

gone declining, and their name become so odious amongst the people, that upon the very nominating a *Spabee*, the vulgar were ready to run upon them with stones, or other weapons that came next to hand; so that now the *Spabees* are much eclipsed in their ancient fame and honour.

There are besides these two foregoing sorts of *Spabees*, other four, the first called *Sag Ulefigi*, that is appointed to march on the right hand of the *Spahaglani*, and carry white and red Colours. The second is *Sol Ulefigi*, whose place is on the left hand of the *Selahtari*; which carry white and yellow Colours. The third *Sagureba*, that is Souldiers of Fortune that are to march on the right hand of the *Sag Ulefigi*, and carry green Colours. The fourth is *Sol Gureba*, whose place is to march on the left hand of the *Ulefigi*, and carry white Banners: but these four sorts of *Spabees* are raised and listed according to necessity and occasions of War, and are obliged to all services and duties; their pay is from 12 Aspers to 20 a day, and are capable according to their merits, of being promoted to one of the superior Orders. There is also another sort of more elevated *Spabees* called *Mutafaraca*, who issue out from the *Seraglio* with more favour than the ordinary sort of *Spabees*, and are 400 or 500 in number, their pay is 40 Aspers a day, and have alwaies the obligation or duty on them to serve and attend the Grand Signior when he goes in progress for pleasure from Village to another.

And thus much shall serve to have declared in brief concerning the institution and discipline of the *Spabees*, as also of all the Militia of the Turkish Horse; we shall now proceed to declare something of their Infantry.



A Janizary

Their begin-
ning.

THE next main sinew of the Ottoman Power is the order of Janizaries, which is as much as to say, the new Militia; and yet their Antiquity may be deduced from Ottoman the first King of the Turks; but because they received honours and priviledges from Amurath their third King, our Turkish History accounts that to be the time of the first original: it is certain that in his time they were modelized, and certain Laws perscribed both for their education and maintenance; when by the counsell of Catradin, otherwise called Kara Rusthenes, Amurath's prime Vizier, it was ordained that for the augmentation of this Militia, every fifth Captive taken from the Christians, above the age of 15 years, should be the dues of the Sultan who at first were to be distributed amongst the Turkish Husbandmen in Asia, to learn and be instructed in the Turkish Language and Religion.

Their num-
ber.

Their number at first was not accounted above 6 or 7000, now with time they are encreased to the number of twenty thousand effective men; but were there a list taken of all those who assume this title of

Janizaries

Janizary, & enjoy their priviledges though not their pay, there would be found above a hundred thousand ; six or seven go under the name of one *Janizarie*, for gaining by this means a priviledge of being free from all Duties and Taxes, they bestow a certain summe of money or annual presents on the Officers, in consideration of which they are owned and countenanced as *Janizaries*. Their Habit is as the Picture represents, wearing alwaies the beard of their Chin and under lip shaven, which some say they learned from the *Italians*; but certain it is, that this Custom is more ancient, than since the time of their Neighbourhood unto *Italy*: this manner of their shaving being generally used as a token of their subjection, and so all the Pages and Officers in the *Seraglio* of great men, orders of Gardeners, *Baltagees* or Hatchet-men and others, are distinguished by this mark to be in service and obliged to the attendance of a Master: But when they are either licensed from the war, or promoted to Office, or freed to their own disposal, they immediately suffer their Beards to grow as a signe of their liberty and gravity.

Their Habit.

In former times this Militia consisted onely of the Sons of Christians, educated in the Mahomitan Rights; but of late that politick Custom hath been disused, the reason of which some attribute to the abundance of people the *Turks* having of their own to supply all their occasions: but I am rather induced to another opinion, having not observed the multitude which Histories and Travellers tell us, that the *Turks* swarm with; and rather assigne the neglect of this practice, so prejudicial to Christian Interest in these parts, to the corruption of the Officers, and carelesness in their Discipline.

The *Janizaries* of whom composed.

And though this election of *Janizaries* out of the eldest and lustiest Sons of Christians that inhabit *Europe* (for *Asia* was exempted) is now disused; yet such as enter into this order, whosoever they are (unless the necessity of the present state of the war be over-urgent) are obliged to perform their Novitiate like *Tyrones Romani*, before they can be enrolled in the Register of *Janizaries*, and are called *Agimoglans*. The chief Officers of these is called *Stambol Agasi*, in whose care and charge it is to enure these men to all labours, pains, and mortifications, as to cut wood, carry burdens, endure heats, colds, and other sufferings which may render them obedient, temperate, vigilant and patient of all the inconveniences and miseries of war.

The Novices.

The quarters many of these have in the Garden-Lodges of the Grand Signiors *Seraglio's* (whereof they are many in and about *Constantinople*) to manure and dig the ground, learn the Art of Plantations, and Husbandry, and practise (as occasion requires) meaner Offices of labour and servitude: others of them are placed in the three *Seraglio's* (we have before mentioned in the Chapter of *Spahes*) viz. of *Pera*, *Ibrahim*, *Pashaw*, and *Adrianople*, where their principal art is the mystery of Plantation and delicious disposal of Gardens into the variety of Knots, Walks, Groves, and Fountains; and though there are many of this profession who have no other thoughts to employ their minds, few of them are acquainted with any part of polite husbandry, or know more than the season to plant their Hartichoaks or Colworts; as to the rules and symmetry of setting trees, ordering the Labyrinths of Knots, making pleasing Walks, Fountains and Groves; it is strange a people

Their Quarters.

a people that delight so much in Flowers, in Fields, and Arbors, and have themselves or Ancestors ruined many of the delightful Paradises of Christians, should be so wholly ignorant and dull in the contrivance of what they love, as not to be able to borrow one example or model, which amongst all the Grand Signiors Gardens in *Constantinople* may deserve a better name than of a Wilderness.

* Called *Kiahaia-Begh*.

Others of these *Agiamoglans* are made *Baltagees* or Hachet-men to cut wood for the *Seraglio*; others are made Cooks and Officers in the Kitchen, such, I mean, as can already speak the Turkish Language, for those that are ignorant in that speech or in the *Mahomitan* Religion, are disposed into remoter parts of *Anatolia*, where the *Janizaries* have Possessions and Authority; as to *Ciotabia*, where the *Lieutenant-General of the *Janizaries* hath Revenue; to *Karabizar* and *Angura*, where the *Stambol Agass* hath principal power; to *Mentesche*, *Sultan Ughi*, and *Kaross* where the *Turnagibatch* and *Jaiabatchi*, who are chief Officers of the *Janizaries*, have Rents and profits belonging to their Offices, and here they are employed in plowing and sowing the Ground, or other laborious exercises, until such time as supplies for the Wars give them occasion to draw out these men from their several Stations: and then being called to the Chambers of *Janizaries*, they orderly march one after the other according to their seniority, one holding the end of his fellows Garment, appear before the Muster-Master, who having enrolled their names in the Grand Signiors Register, they run as fast as they can by their *Odabasche* or Master of their Chamber, who gives every one as he passes a blow under the Ear, to signify their subjection to him: and this is the Ceremony observed in creating *Janizaries*.

The manner
in making
Janizaries.

Their pay.

At their first Enrolment some have but one Asper a day, others 4 and 5 unto 7 and a half; and so with time and favour of their Officers, encrease to 12 Aspers a day, which is the highest pay of any *Janizary*, and can have no other advance, unless good Fortune promote them to the decree of *Kiahaia Begh*, which is as much as Lieutenant-General of the *Janizaries*, or any other eminent Office.

Their Diet
and Clothing.

Besides this pay, they have their dayly provision and diet from the bounty of the Grand Signior, and their Table ordered at constant hours, where they find their Rice, fifty drams of flesh, and one hundred of Bread their ordinary Commons, and eat in their respective Refectories like Monks in Convents, or Scholars in their Colledges; they receive also one Souldiers Coat yearly, of Cloath made at *Salonica* of a coarse thred, but warm and convenient, which in every month of *Ramazau* is distributed to each Chamber; so that their Bellies are full and Backs are warm, and all points are better provided than the tattered Infantry which are to be seen in most parts of Christendome. And thus this people being pampered without cares of seeking their Bread, grow often querulous and apt to take the fire of Sedition with every spark of discontent in their Officers; the beginings of which they commonly make known at their Assemblies of the publick *Divan*, whither 4 or 500 of them are obliged 4 times a week, that is Saturday Sunday, Munday, and Tuesday, to accompany the *Janizar Agar* or their General; at that place they have their Commons from the Grand Signiors Kitchen: which when they have any subject of discontent

content they evidence by slighting, by kicking down their plates of Rice, and shewing better stomacks to be revenged, than to their Entertainment; which mutinies the Grand Signior and principal Ministers having found oftentimes fatal, endeavour by fair promises and satisfactory compliance with their desires to pacific in their first motion.

Mutinies.



Janiziar Agasi or Generall of the Janizaries

The General of this Militia is called *Janiziar Agasi*, and is always elected from the * Royal Chamber of the Seraglio ; because it being * *Hacoda* an Office of great charge, it is thought necessary to be intrusted to one whose Education and Preferment hath made a Creature of the Court; The *Janiziar* which policy hath been the suppression of divers mutinies amongst the *Janizaries*, the discovery of their Combination, and an engagement to a stronger dependency on the favour of the Seraglio. When this General either dies by a natural death, or the sword of the Grand Signiors Justice or Authority, his Riches, like that of other *Pashaws*, is not confiscated to the Sultans Exchequer ; but the Inheritance accrues to the publick Treasury of the *Janizaries* ; which how dangerous it is to a State to have a Militia endowed with Revenues appropriated to their Officers (as already we have declared they possess in some parts of *Anatolia*) and a Bank of Wealth united to the maintenance of a licentious Sword, the *Ottoman* Princes have by sad effects rather felt, than able by vertue of their absolute Power to remedy.

The publick
Treasurer of
the *Janizaries*.

Officers.

The second Chief Officer is the *Kiabaia Begh*, Lieutenant-General. The third is *Seghban baschi*, the Overseer of the Carriage of the Souldiers Baggage.

The fourth is the *Turnagi Bashee*, or Guardian of the Grand Signiors Cranes.

The fifth is the *Samsongzi Bashee*, chief Master of the Grand Signiors Mastives.

The sixth is the *Zagargi Bashee*, Master of the Spaniels.

The seventh is the *Solack Bashee*, Captain of the Archers, or of such *Janizaries* who go armed with Bow and Arrows.

The Eighth is *Kubaschi* and *Afshaschi*, who are chief of the Serjeants and Bailiffs, and attend always at the Grand Signiors Stirrop when at any time on solemn occasions he shews himself to the people.



The ninth is the *Peikbaschi*, or Commander of that sort of Pages which are called *Peiks*, who wear caps of beaten gold, of which there are 60 in number, who march at Solemnities together with the *Solacks* near the person of the Grand Signior.

The tenth is *Mezurga*, or the head Baili of the *Janizaries*.

These eight last arise from the order of *Janizaries*, and have their several Commands in the Army, though the Grand Signior, to augment their Power and Honour the more, bestows on them Titles and Wealth in other Offices.

The

The *Janizaries* Chambers (of which there are no others but in *Constantinople*) are in number 162, of which 80 are of ancient Foundation, and are called *Eskai Odalar* : and 82 called *Jeni Odalar*, or the new Chambers ; over most of which is a *Tchorbagi* or Captain : In these Chambers those that are not married enjoy their Lodgings and Habitation, and twice a day find their Repast, as we have before mentioned : And thus instead of Monasteries of Friars, the Turk maintains Convents and Societies of Souldiers, who are trained up with all modesty and Severity of Discipline.

The principal Officers of these Chambers are,
First, the *Odabashee*, or Master of the Chamber, who in the Wars serves as Lieutenant of the Company. The *Janizaries* Chambers.
Officers of the Chambers.

Second is *Wekilbarg*, or expeditor for maintenance of the Chamber.

Third is *Bairacktar*, or Ensign-bearer.

Fourth is *Ashgee*, or the Cook of the Chamber.

Fifth is *Karakullukgee*, or the under-Cook.

Sixth is the *Saka*, or the water-carrier.

The Cook is not only an Officer to dress the Diet and provision of the *Janizaries*, but is also a Monitor or observer of their good behaviour ; so that when any one of them commits a Crime, the Cook is the Officer that executes the punishment. The under-Cook also serves for an Apparitor, and is he who summons the married *Janizaries* at their several Dwellings in *Constantinople*, when their Officers command their attendance.

The greatest part of the *Janizaries* consists of Batchelours or single men ; for though Marriage cannot be denied to any of them, yet it is that which terminates their Preferments, and renders their Seniority incapable of claiming a right to Offices, or Military Advancement ; for being incumbered with a Wife, and other dependencies, they are judged in a condition not capable to attend the Discipline of the War, or Service of the Grand Signior ; and therefore as to other duty in the times of Peace, besides their appearance every *Friday* in their Chambers, and presence of their Officers, they wholly are dispensed with. The *Janizaries* married.

In the Wars this Militia is consider'd as the most valiant and best disciplin'd Souldiery of the Turkish Camp, and therefore are either kept as a Reserve, or march in the main Body of the Army. In times of Peace their Quarters are many times changed, to keep them in employment, from one Castle or Garrison to another, as to *Buda*, *Kanisfa*, *Temeswar*, to *Rhodes*, *Canea*, and other parts : some of them are appointed to keep Courts of Guard at all Gates and Avenues of *Constantinople*, to prevent the Insolencies and Injuries their Companions are apt to offer to Christians, Jews, and others in the Streets, who at sometimes, being heated with Wine, have in the open market forc'd Women whilst their Comerades have with their * Daggers drawn stood over them to defend them from the people ; to prevent which disorders, the *Janizar Agasi* accustoms to ride the streets attended with about 40 *Mumigies*, or Bailiffs of the *Janizaries*, where meeting any guilty of such like Crimes, or other Enormities, he seizes them and carries them to his Court, where after examination of their fault,

he orders them to be beaten, or if their Crime be great, to be strangled, or fowed in a Sack and thrown into the Sea; but always their punishment is inflicted privately, perhaps because they are jealous of a mutiny.

Serdars,

In every Province the *Janizaries* have their *Serdars*, who are Colonels or chief of all the *Janizaries* within that Jurisdiction, who greatly abuse their Office by taking into their protection any that present or pay them for this privilege; by which means they have grown so powerful and rich, that some time past the Command of the whole *Ottoman* Empire hath repos'd in the hands of this Militia.

Their Arms are Musquets and Swords; they fight confusedly in the Field, and with no more order than the *Spashees*; only sometimes they draw themselves up into *Cunei*, observed amongst the *Romans*.

And thus much shall serve to have spoken of the Institution and Discipline of the *Janizaries*: We shall now proceed to declare how this Militia is decayed, and upon what grounds it is not maintained in its ancient honour and flourishing estate.

CHAP. VIII.

Whether the Maintenance of an Army of Janizaries according to the Original Institution, be now agreeable to the Rules of Politie amongst the Turks.

Epist. 3. de Legatione Turcica.

THIS Problem I find first moved by *Busbequius*, once the Germane Emperors Embassador to *Constantinople*, who pretends to speak the Grand Signiors sence in this particular, on occasions of difference which the insolent rudeness of the *Janizaries* had caus'd between themselves and his Family: For *Rusan Pashaw* then Prime Vizier, admonished him friendly to condescend to any terms of Composition, for that Law could not avail where Souldiers ruled; and the powerful *Solyman* himself, who then reigned, trembled at nothing more than the apprehension of some secret Ulcer of perfidiousness, which might lye concealed within the retirement of the *Janizaries*.

But as there is no question but a standing Army of veterane and well-disciplin'd Souldiers must be always useful and advantageous to the Interest of a Prince; so, on the contrary, negligence in the Officers, and remissness of Government, produces that licentiousness and wretchedness in the souldiery, as betrays them to all the disorders which are dangerous, and of evill consequence to the welfare of a State.

And so it hath fared with the *Ottoman* Empire, which rising only by the power of Arms, and established on the blood of many valiant and daring Captains, gave Priviledges, Honours, and Riches to the Militia, and at all times encouraged their Prowess and forwardness by Rewards, and connivance at their Crimes; by which indulgence and impunity, these men ill-principled in rules of Virtue, and unequally bearing prosperity, and the favour of the Prince, have for a long time been gathering a stock of ill humours ready to receive any contagion

tagion of seditious design, and to maintain it with an impudence constant to the *Janizaries* for some ages, which may equal the levity of the Roman Souldiery, untill they shamelessly set their Empire to sale, and forgot both their old obedience to the Senate, and reverence to their new Emperors.

The death and ruine of many *Grandeess*, and of the Sultan himself, by such like Seditions, hath at length by dear experience taught the Principal Ministers how unsafe it is to permit an Army lodged in the bowels of the capital City, of a disposition favourable to it self, envious, and impatient of any other, jealous, and always at enmity with the Court, rich and powerful with possessions and Rents appertaining to its Commanders in *Anatolia*, and a Treasury of unknown sums which have descended to the Common Bank by the decease of their Generals or *Janizar Agas*; and therefore have by degrees, and as prudently as might be, begun to diminish the strength of this Militia by the destruction of the veterane Souldiers, and ruine of their reputation, by various arts, in the estimation of the World.

The particular means whereby the *Janizaries* have been studiously destroy'd, are by many ways evident; for first they are expos'd upon every obscure Service, and drawn forth to encounter every Assault of the Empire; as the Wars of *Candy* have exhausted the flower of this Militia, the Battels at Sea buried vast numbers, who were formerly reserved for times of eminent exploits and glory.

Secondly, Which destruction of the veterane Souldiers hath created other mischiefs to this order, in point of discipline, as prejudicial as the former; for as the *Agiamoglans* were obliged to perform six or seven years Novitiate, now, by reason of the constant necessities to supply the wars, they overskip the orderly formalities of the first Institution, and create them *Janizaries* after a year, or half a years service. And others I have known educated in Mechanick professions, and from framing Timber and carrying Burdens in the Arsenal, have at once for the service in *Candy* been created *Janizaries*, who neither know how to manage a Musket, nor are otherwise disciplin'd to any exercise of Arms.

Thirdly, that *Europe* may not be dispeopled by the triennial seizure of Christian children of the Grand Signiors service, which in Turkish is called *Deuschirme*, that politick Custom and principal conservation of the discipline of *Janizaries* is, as we have said before, wholly forgotten, and instead thereof election is made of Vagabonds, that proffer themselves out of *Asia*, or other parts, who having passed five or six months like Novices, are afterwards made *Janizaries*, and being ignorant in the use of Arms, and unaccustomed to labours and sufferings, run from their Colours, and renounce their Order, which has been in times past one of the most honourable in the whole Empire.

Fourthly, The old veterane Officers, which had by degrees and steps proceeded to Honour methodically from inferior Souldiers, have either by their own seditious spirits, or jealousy of the Prince, been dispeeced from this world, and in their places the Sons of *Constantinopolitan Janizaries* succeeded, who have been bred up with softness and effeminacy; and their *Tchorbages* or captains have not obtained

obtained their commands by time or valour, but by their places with money and presents to the prime Officers.

Fifthly, And to forward the decay of this Militia, and to take off their warlike and haughty courages, the confinement to their Chambers is not severe, but liberty given upon colour of poverty and impossibility of livelihood on their mean pay, to attend other Trades and services, whereby the exercise of Arms and thoughts of the War is converted to mechanick Arts, and an intention to ways of maintenance of themselves and Families.

Sixthly, Hope of reward and fear of punishment, which are the incitements to worthy actions and restrictions from the vilest crimes, are rarely held up to the *Janizaries* in these times for their encouragement or terrour; for without money to the superior Officers none of them obtains preferment; nor can any worn out with age and wounds procure dismissal from the War with the enjoyment of the usual stipend, who are called by the Turks *Oturak*, and by the Latines *Exauſorati*; and on the contrary the children of Officers born in *Constantinople* are often made *Oturaks* in their Cradles, and lusty youths are with favour and money exempted in the flower of their age from the labours of War, and yet enjoy the benefits due to a toilsome Militia.

And yet, as if all the connivance at these various disorders and subversion of the good institutions of this souldiery were not sufficient to impoverish their spirits, to mould them into a more effeminate temper, and cause them to lose their interest and reputation; it is the common opinion that the *Visier Kupriuli* laid the designs for the late War with *Germany* before his death, and enjoined it to his Son to prosecute, with an intention, amongst other expectations of benefit to the Empire, to complete the final destruction of the ancient *Spahees* and *Janizaries*, so as to be able to lay a foundation of new Discipline, which may more easily for the future restrain the Turkish Militia within the compass of better modesty and obedience: which design hath taken so severe effect in the war of *Hungary*, in the year 1664. that the bloudest part of slaughter in the Battels fell on the *Janizaries* and *Spahees*, and by how much more any were more bold and forward in their attempts, by so much more fatal and hasty was their ruine; so that it is reported that the valiantest Souldiers of the Confines, the veterane and best disciplined of the *Spahees* and *Janizaries*, and the best number of their skilful Commanders and expert Captains perished promiscuously together, to the great damage and weakning of the *Ottoman* power; so that now it is not probable that a new Militia succeeding, capable of receiving other Customs and Laws, and neither remembering nor concerned in former Mutinies will adventure to follow the seditious practices of their Predecessors; for men are commonly modest at their first entrance into any condition, and unless debauched by corruption and government, are easily contained within the bounds of reasonable moderation. And yet notwithstanding that the pride of the Turkish Militia is reduced to so low an abatement of their power, and to a condition easily for the future with good management to be ruled; yet this present *Sultan Mahomet* still retaining the memory and impression of the amazement
he

he suffered in his infancy on occasion of a dangerous combination and conspiracy of the *Janizaries*, will never confide himself to their guard, nor be reconciled to *Constantinople*, in consideration of the many Chambers it contains of that loathed Militia, which have been so many Nurseries and Seminaries of Treasons plotted against himself, and his other Progenitors.



The Chaousbasher or Chief the Pursuivant

CHAP. IX.

Of the Chiaufes..

THEse having both offensive and defensive Arms assigned them, may be reckoned in the number of the Militia, though their Office being chiefly in relation to Civil Processes and Laws, they may rather deserve the name of Pursuivants or Serjeants. They are in number about 5 or 600, their pay is from 12 to 40 Aspers a day; and their chief Officer is called *Chiaus Baschee*, to whose custody Prisoners

soners of quality are committed : their place of attendance in the Palace of the Prime Visier, to be ready on all occasions to carry Letters and Commands to any part of the Empire ; such Christian Renegades as become Turks, they most commonly for their encouragement and subsistence in the Mahometane Superstition admit into this Rank ; because having commonly an endowment of other languages besides the Turkish, are most serviceable on messages into Foreign Countreys ; and sometimes are sent with title of ambassadors, as one was once into *England, France, and Holland*. Their Arms are a Scimitar, a Bow, and Arrows, and a Trunchion with a knob at the end, called in Turkish *Topuz* ; those of these Officers that are servants to the Visier or *Beglerbegs*, carry this Trunchion covered with Silver, called in Turkish *Tcheughian* ; but the *Chiausfes* of simple *Pashaws* only of Wood-their Harvest they make upon the occasions of Law-suits and differences between one party and another, being Apparitors or Serjeants to call the guilty person to justice, or if the business comes to composition, they commonly are in the midst to perswade both sides to reason, in which action they want not their Fees or acknowledgment of labour from both parties.

CHAP. X.

Of the other parts of the Turkish Militia, the Toptchi.

These are Gunners, called so from the word *Tope*, which in Turkish signifies a Cannon ; and are in number about one thousand two hundred distributed into 52 Chambers, their quarters are at *Tophana* or the place of Guns in the Suburbs of *Constantinople* ; few of these are expert in their art, and are ill practised in the proportions and Mathematical part of the Gunners mystery ; for were they as skilful as many Engineers in the world, they might doubtless with that train of vast Artillery they either march with in their camp or found in their Trenches, give much more annoyance to the Christians forces : And therefore knowing their own imperfections in this exercise ; when Christian Gunners are taken in the War, they entertain them with better usage than other Captives, quartering them in the Chambers appropriated to that profession, allotting them with the others a pay of 8 to 12 Aspers a day ; but because this is too considerable a maintenance to allure men who are otherwise principled, most of them as occasion offers, desert the service of the Turk, and fly to their own Country.

Their Officers are,

1. The *Toppibaschi*, or General of the ordinance.
2. The *Dukigibaschi*, or the chief of them that found the great Guns.
3. The *Odabaschi*, the chief of all the Chambers of the Gunners in the suburbs of *Constantinople*.
4. Is the *Kiatib* or their Muster-Master, who is always a *Spahce*.

Their Guns are the biggest and as well cast and moulded as any in the

the world; for the last Expedition in Hungary there were 40 pieces of new Cannon cast and transported by way of the black Sea, and thence by the Danube unto Balgrade and Buda. Their Gunpowder is made but in small quantities about Constantinople, but comes from divers places of Europe, but that from Damascus is most esteemed. The biggest size of their Bullets are from 36 to 40 inches Diameter, but these are most commonly of stone, which they make use of in the Castles or Block-houses situate on the Sea, as at the Castles upon the Hellespont, called anciently *Gessor* and *Abidos*, and at the Forts at entrance of the black Sea. Once an Englishman Gunner of a ship, which lay at Constantinople, had the curiosity and confidence to measure the dimensions of these Bullets, but being apprehended in the very act was imprisoned for a spy, but by the intercession of our ambassador then Resident, with much labour and some expence was at length released.

Of the Gebegees.

These are Armourers; so called from the word *Gebees*, which signifies in Turkish as much as Arm of Back and Breast; they are in number 630 distributed into 60 Chambers, and have their quarters near the Church of *Santa Sophia* in Constantinople; their Office is to conserve the Arms of ancient times from rust by cleaning and oyling of them, so as to remain as trophies of the Turkish Conquests: their pay is from 8 to 12 Aspers a day; their Officers are first the *Gebebaschi* who is their Commander in chief. 2. The *Odobasches*, who are so many Masters of their Chambers. On all expeditions these Armourers are necessary Officers, and oftentimes in days of Battel distribute forth the antique Arms, of which they have the care, into the hands of the *Janizaries*; but those of these men that are indifferently rich, and have favour and friends, enjoy their pay with ease at their own homes; and like other * *ogiacs* are capable of being made *Otaraks*, or retaining their pension with dispensation from the War.

* *Ogiack* signifies a Family, as also a military Family; so *Spahis* *cornes*, &c.

Of the Delees.



Delee, or one of the Viziers' Guard.

Delee signifies as much as a mad fellow or a HecTOR; these are the Prime Viziers Lifeguard, and are in number from one to 400, more or less, according as the Vizier is more or less rich and splended in his retinue; their pay is from 12 to 15 Aspers a day; they are by nation of *Bosna* or *Albania*; their habit is very ridiculous according to this Picture; they are men chosen for their great stature and stomachs; they speak big, talk of nothing but killing and advenferous exploits, but in reality their heart and courage is not esteemed proportionable to their bulk and bodies: in the City they march before the Vizier on foot, and make way for him to the *Divan*; on journies they are too heavy and lazy not to be well mounted; they have a Captain over them called the *Delibafchi*; their Arms are a Lance after the *Hungarian* fashion, a Sword, and Pole-Axe; and some of them carry a Pistol at their Girdle. This sort of people being naturally more faithful than the Turks, and more enclimable to the Vizier *Kapriut*; for being of the same Country, he maintained 2000 of them for his Guard; which was so great a curb to the *Janisaries* and the other Militia, that they were never able to execute any Conspiracy against him. The same course

course his Son the present Visier, follows, and is doubtless next the Grand Signiors favour, his principal security.

Of the Segbans and Sarigias.

It is not to be omitted that the *Beglerbegs* and *Pashaws* maintain always a Militia called *Segbans*, to whose custody the charge of the baggage belonging to the Horse is committed; and a select number called *Sarigias*, to whose care the baggage of the Infantry is entrusted; these serve on foot with Musquets like *Janizaries*, and the others on Horse back like Dragoons in Christendom; their pay besides their meat is 3 or 4 Dollars a month. The *Beglerbegs* have oftentimes on occasions of their Rebellions enrolled many of this sort of Militia to encounter the *Janizaries*; the which was practised in these late times by *Ipcbir Pashaw*, *Hasan Pashaw*, and *Murteza Pashaw*, who having listed great numbers to fight under this denomination, the Visier *Kapriuli* for terrou and more easie destruction of this people, proclaimed through all *Asia*, that strict inquisition should be made after the *Segbans* and *Sarigias*, and that it might be lawfull for any one to kill and destroy them without mercy; by which means many were butchered in several places, and 30000 of them revolted to the *Sass* of *Persia*.

The Muhlagi and Besli,

Are the servants of *Beglerbegs* and *Pashaws*; the first make profession of a principal art in good Horsemanship, and exercise themselves in throwing the *Gilid*, which is a Dart much used amongst the Turks, in the true management of which there is a great dexterity; and because there are considerable rewards bestowed on those who are expert herein, the Turks practise it on Horse-back as their only exercise and study: very much delight herein the Grand Signiors have always taken, and to be spectators of the Combats between the servants of several *Pashaws* born in different Countries and Nations, who from a Principle of honour to their Nation, and hopes of preferment, contend with that heat and malice one against the other as surpass the cruelty of the ancient Gladiators; and not only limbs or eyes are lost in this skirmish, but oftentimes sacrifice their blood and life for the pastime of their Prince. Such as are observed to be bold, active, and dexterous at this Game, are preferred to the degree and benefit of a *Zaim* or *Timariot*. The *Beslees* are footmen, who for their great abilities in walking and running, attain oftentimes to be made *Janizaries*.

And thus we have now, with as much brevity as may be, run through the several Degrees, Numbers, Institutions, Laws, and Discipline of the Turkish Militia by Land: whose farther progress into Christendom, and damage to the Christian Cause may the Almighty Providence so disappoint, that his Church, corrected and grown more pious by this chastisement, may at length be relieved from the Rod and yoke of this great oppressor.

CHAP. XI.

Certain Observations on the Turkish Camp : and the Success of the last Battel against the Christians.

IN the year of our Lord 1665. the Earl of *Winchelsea*, our Lord Ambassador for certain Affairs of His Majesty and the Company of Merchants, having commanded me to meet the Great Visier in his return from the Wars in *Hungary*; through ill or rather uncertain information of the Visiers motion, I was forced to proceed as far as *Belgrade* in *Servia* on the Confines of *Hungary*, 23 days Journey from *Constantinople*, where finding a good part of the Turkish Army encamped neer that City, for better convenience and expedition of my business, I entred within the Quarters of the *Spahies*, and pitched my Tent as neer the Visiers and the other principal officers as consisted with due respects, in which place I remained seven days, untill the army removed towards *Adrianople*; and not having fully compleated my business there, I marched and remained other 13 days together with the Army: in which time I had leisure to make some reflections on the Order of the Turkish Camp.

In the front of the Camp are quarter'd the *Janizaries*, and all others destin'd to Foot-service, whose Tents encompass their *Aga* or General: In the body of the Camp are erected the stately Pavilions of the Visier, of his *Kabija*, or chief Steward, or Councillor, the *Reis effendi* or Lord Chancellor, the *Testerdar Pascha* or Lord Treasurer, and the *Kapissier Kabiassee* or Master of the Ceremonies; which five Pavilions take up a large extent of ground, leaving a spacious Field in the midst, in the centre of which is raised a lofty Canopy, under which Offenders are corrected or executed, and serves to shelter from the Sun or Rain such as attend the *Divan*, or other business with the Officers of State. Within the same space of ground also is the *Hafna* or Treasury, in small Chests one piled on the other, in form of a circle, for guard of which 15 *Spahies* every night keep a watch with their Arms in their hands. Neer these Quarters are the Tents of *Pashaws*, *Beghs*, *Agaes*, and Persons of Quality, who with their Retinue solely make up a considerable part of the Turkish Army. In the Rear are the Quarters of the *Spahies*, and others that attend the Horse-service, as *Segbans*, *Sarigias*, and others. On the right hand of the Visier without the Camp, are placed the Artillery and Ammunition, which in the time I was there was inconsiderable, the great Canon remaining in *Buda* and in the City of *Belgrade*, only 40 or 45 small Field-pieces of Brass (as I reckoned them) each drawn by four Horses, marched with the Visier, more at that time for State and Ostentation than for real Service.

The Pavilions of the Great Visier, and other Persons of principal Office and Quality, may rather be called Palaces than Tents being of a large extent, richly wrought within, adorned beyond their Houses, accommodated with Stately Furniture, with all the convenience of the City and Country, and in my opinion far exceed the magnificence

magnificence of the best of their Buildings; for being but for few years continuance, the maintenance of them is beyond the expence of Marble and Porphyry, or the perpetual Edifices of *Italy*, durable to many *Olympiads* and *Myriads* of years. With these Houses and moveable Habitations, which with the Posts that support them are of great weight and bulk, the Turkish Army marches daily four five, and sometimes six hours Journey; all which baggage is carried on Horses, Mules, and Camels: The great Persons are furnished with two sets of Tents, one of which as the Visier rises, is advanced the *Conack* or days Journey beyond; so that in the morning leaving one Tent, another is found at noon ready furnished and provided at arival; which is the reason why the Turkish Camp abounds with such multitudes of Camels, Mules, and Horses of Burden, with so many thousand Attendants on the Baggage, which are of a vast expence, and if duly considered, is a matter of the greatest state and magnificence in the Turkish Empire.

Though it is reported by those who are Souldiers, and have experienced the Valour of the Turks in Fight, that their Victories are obtained by multitudes of Men, rather than by art, or military Discipline; however the Conquests they have made on the parts of *Chri-stendom*, is a demonstration undeniable of some supereminent Order in their Army, which recompenses the defect of knowledg in the true Mystery of War; and this Regulation (in my opinion) proceeds from nothing more than the strict prohibition of Wine upon pain of death (two men being executed during the time of my Residence there for bringing a small quantity of it in the Field) for hereby men become sober, diligent, watchfull and obedient. In the Turkish Camp no brawls, quarrels, nor clamours are heard; no abuses are committed on the people in the march of their Army; all is bought and paid with money, as by Travellers that are Guests at an Inn; there are no complaints by Mothers of the Rape of their Virgin-daughters, no violences or Robberies offered on the Inhabitants; all which good order tends to the success of their Armies, and enlargement of their Empire. As on the contrary, the sloth of the *Germans* and other Nations in their Councils against the *Turk*, the liberty given to the Christian Souldiery, or rather the difficulty to correct it, proceeds from nothing more than intemperance of Wine, which moves in the Souldiery a lust and promptitude to all evils, and is occasion of the horrid outrages they commit, quarrels among themselves, and disobedience to their Officers, and betrays oftentimes a whole Army to ruine by surprisal: for how can those men be watchfull, whose heads are charged with the fumes of Wine, and not yield opportunity of sad advantages to so awakened an Enemy as the *Turk*? *Busbequius* who had been Embassador from the Emperour to the Grand Signior in two several Embassies, and had known and seen the vigilance of the Turkish Camp, attributes much of their success against the *Germans* to the ancient vice of Intemperance of his Country: *Neque verò, salth he, graviore imperio Turca Græcos præmans, quàm nobis dominantur vitia, luxus, crapula.* And so sensible are the Turks of the abuses and disorders which arise in their Camp by the use of Wine, that they endeavour all that is possible to debar their people from

from it, and therefore 2 or 3 days before the Army arrives at any place, Officers are dispatched before to seal all Taverns and make proclamation against the sale of Wine: for though it be against their Law to drink Wine, yet drunkenness is now become so common a vice amongst them (as we have already declared in the second Book) that scarce one in ten but is addicted to a brutish intemperance therein.

The Camp is always clean and free from ordure and filth; there being holes digged nere every Tent, which are encompassed about with Canvas for the more privacy and accommodation in mens necessary occasions; and whensoever these places become noisome and full, they are covered with earth, and the Canvas removed; so that the whole Camp is clear of all excrements of men, as also kept more free from other stench (which may cause putrefaction,) than the most orderly Cities of the world. If the march be in the summer-time and the weather hot, the beasts of burden and baggage begin to travel about seven a clock in the evening, and the *Pashaws* and great *Visier* presently after midnight; who are accompanied with so many lights as equal almost the brightness of the day. Those that carry these lights are *Arabians* from the parts of *Aleppo* and *Damascus*, men used to travel on foot, who in Turkish are called *Massalageeler*, over whom is a superintendant or chief called *Massalagibabee*, whose Office it is to govern and to punish these people, and is liable to answer for their disorders: the lights they carry are not Torches, but a bituminous oily sort of wood, which they burn in an Iron grate carried on a staff made in the forme of our Beacons; and of the same fashion with those lights we see drawn in ancient Hangings, and Pictures which represent night pieces of Roman Stories.

And since I have discoursed something of the Turkish Camp in this their return homewards, it will not be much from my promise to acquaint the Reader with what cheerfulness and alacrity the Army marched this way after their ill success; and also to declare the occasion that put a hook into the nostrils of this great oppressor, and diverted him for the present from the farther spoil of Christendome. After the taking of the Castle called *Serinwar* by the great *Visier*, built by Count *Serini* (the which was the first Original and occasion of the war) and the defeat of the *Pashaw* of *Buda* neer *Lewa* by Count *Susa* Governor of *Gomorra*; the *Visier* made many and various attempts to pass the River *Raab*, to make some conquests in the parts of *Croati* and *Styria*, but by reason of the forts the Christians had made along the banks of the River, in every adventure lost considerable numbers of men; at which loss of men and time, and the ill success neer *Lewa*, the *Visier* being greatly moved, made another adventure on the twenty seventh of July 1664. advancing with the gros of his Army as far as *Kermant*, a place between the Rivers *Raab* and *Terne*, endeavouring there to make his passage with better success; but by the valour of the *Hungarians* and the assistance of the General *Montecuculi* were repulsed with extraordinary slaughter.

On the first of August following the Turk made another considerable attempt, and passed over in one place 6000 *Janizaries* and *Albanians*, and in another where the River was foordable, and not above

ten paces broad, the whole body of the Turkish Horse crouded over in vast numbers, which caused the Christians to joyn their Forces into one Army, and retreat farther into the Country, and put themselves into a posture of giving Battel to the Enemy.

As soon as the Turkish Army had thus waded over the water, the night following fell so much rain, and such a Deluge came powring down from the mountains, that the River which was foordable the day before, did now overflow its own banks, and not passable without Floats and Bridges. As soon as the Army was thus passed the River, the great Visier dispatched immediately Messengers to the Grand Signior to acquaint him of his progress and passage; which news he knew would come very gratefull; because in all Letters from the Grand Signior he was urged by threats and positive commands to proceed forward in his march, and not to suffer the impediment of a narrow ditch to be an interruption to the whole Ottoman force, which was never before restrained by the Ocean. The Grand Signior having received this intelligence, as if the whole Victory and Triumph over the World consisted in the passage over the Raab, was transported with such an extraordinary joy and assurance of Victory, that all Hungary and Germany were already swallowed in his thoughts; and when by a second Message he received intelligence, that a forlorn hope of the Enemy, consisting of a thousand men, was cut off, the Ottoman Court was so transported with the joy and assurance of victory, that to anticipate the good news, the Grand Signior commanded that a solemn Festival should be celebrated for the space of 7 days and 7 nights, called by the Turks *Dunalma*; in which time the whole nights were spent in fire-works, shooting great Guns, Volleys of Muskets, sound of Drums and Trumpets, revelling, and what other solemnities might testify their joy and triumph. But scarce three nights of this vain dream had passed, before the Grand Signior awakened by intelligence contrary to what was presaged and expected, of the defeat of the best part of his Army, shamefully commanded the lights to be extinguished; and the remaining four nights appointed for joy, to be turned to melancholy and darkness. And indeed this rash joy was the more shamefull and ridiculous, by how much more fatal and destructive the loss was to the Turks. For they being now got over the River, and the Christians drawn up in *Battalia*, a most furious fight began, which from nine a clock in the morning, untill four in the afternoon continued with variable Fortune; at length the Turks assailed by the extraordinary valour of the Christians, which were now of equal number to them, began to give back and put themselves into a shameful flight, leaving dead upon the place about 3000 men, and the glory of the day to the Christians: the Turks who always flye disorderly, knowing not the art of a handsome retreat, crouded in heaps to pass the River, the Horse trampling over the Foot and the Foot throwing themselves headlong into the water, without consideration of the depth, or choice of places foordable after the great rains; those sinking, catching hold of others that could swim, sunk down and perished together; others both of men and horse through the rapidness of the stream were carried down the River and swallowed up in the deeper places: the water was dyed with blood, and the whole

Zac. lib. 1.

whole face of the River was covered with Men, Horse, Garments, all swimming promiscuously together; no difference was here between the valiant and the cowardly, the foolish and the wise, counsel and chance, all being involved in the same violence of calamity: *Non vox & mutui hortatus juvabant, adversante nulla, nihil strenuus ab ignavo, sapiens à prudenti, consilia à casu differre, cuncta parâ violentiâ involvabantur*; so that the waters devoured a far greater number than did the Sword; whilst the great Visier standing on the other side of the River was able to afford no kind of help or relief, but as one void of all counsel and reason, knew not where to apply a remedy. This defeat though in Christendom not greatly boasted, by reason that the destruction of the Turks, which was most by water, was partly concealed to them; yet the Turks acknowledge the ruine and slaughter to have been of a far great number than what the Christian Diaries relate, confessing that since the time that the Ottoman Empire arrived at this greatness, no stories make mention of any slaughter or disgrace it hath suffered to be equalled to the calamity and dishonour of this. On the Turks side were slain *Ishmael Pashaw* lately of *Buda*, and *Chimacani* of *Constantinople* by a shot from the enemy in his passage over the River, the *Spahes lar-Agasee* or general of the *Spahes*, and several other *Pashaws* and persons of quality fell that day, 15 pieces of Cannon were taken, with some Tents and other rich spoils: Of the Christians were slain neera thousand; those of note were Count of *Nassau*, Count *Charles of Bracoustorf* Captain of the Guards to *Montecuculi*, Count *Fucher* General of the Artillery, with many other Gentlemen of the French Nation, who deserve ever to be chronicled for their virtue and valour.

The Turks were with this news greatly ashamed, and dejected, having but two days before demonstrated excesses of joy, congratulated the happy news one to the other, sending Presents abroad after their manner, derided the Christians living amongst them with the news, exprobrated them with a thousand injuries, applauded their own virtue and valour, and the righteousness of their cause and Religion. But on a sudden, intelligence coming contrary to their expectations, such a dampness fell upon their spirits, that for some days there was a deep silence of all news at *Constantinople*; they that the day before sought for Christians to communicate to them the miracles of their Victory, now avoided their company, ashamed of their too forward joy, and the liberty they had taken to contemn and deride the low condition of the Christian Camp. And now the ill news not being able to be longer concealed, Prayers, and Humiliation were appointed publickly to be made at all the Royal Masques both at *Constantinople* and at *Adrianople*, where all the *Emanms* or Parish Priests with their young Scholars were commanded to resort, singing some doleful Chapter of the *Alchoran*.

The minds of the Souldiery after this defeat were very much discomposed, tending more to sedition than to obedience, every one took license to speak loudly and openly his opinion, that the War was commenced upon unjust and unlawfull grounds, that Comets lately seen to fall were prodigies foretelling the ill success of the War; that the total eclipse of the Moon, which pretends always misfortunes to the

Turks

Turks, should have caused more caution in the Commanders of engaging the Army, untill the malignancy of that influence had been over-passed; and calling to mind the solemn Oath with which the Sultan *Solyman* confirmed his Capitulations with the Emperour, particularly vowing never to pass the *Raab* or places where the Turks received their defeat, without a solid or reasonable ground of War; all concluded that this Invasion was a violation of the Vow, and an injury to the sacred memory of that fortunate Sultan, and that all enterprises and attempts of this War would be fatal and destructive to the *Musselmén* or Believers, and the end dishonourable to the Empire. This opinion was rooted with much firmness and superstition in the mind of the vulgar, and the rumours in the Camp (that the Visier had been cause of the Souldiers flight, by commanding them to retreat after they were engaged, upon a false alarm that the enemy in great numbers were coming to fall on the Quarters where the Visiers person remained; and that this error was the first original of the slaughter that ensued) augmented their discontents and animosities against the Government. The Souldiery besides was greatly terrified and possessed with a fear of the Christians, and amazed upon every alarm; the Asian *Spahes* and other Souldiers having Wives and Children and Possessions to look after, were grown poor, and desired nothing more than in peace and quietness to return to their homes; so that nothing could come more grateful to this Camp, no largesses nor hopes could pacifie the minds of the Souldiery more than the promises and expectations of Peace. And this was the true cause that brought on the treaty of Peace between the Emperour and the Turk, in such an instant contrary to the opinion of most in the world; and gave occasion to the Visier to embrace the Propositions offered by the *Heer Rbenwinghen*, then Resident for the Emperour (who was carried about according to the motions of the Turkish Camp, to be ready to improve any overtures of Peace that might be offered): the Visier to shew his real intentions, flattered and carested this Resident with the Present of a Horse richly furnished, a vest of Sables and a commodious Tent, whilest the Propositions and Condescensions on the Turkish part were dispeeded to *Vienna*; which were returned again with an entire assent to most of the Articles; and those wherein there might be any difference, were to be referred untill the arrival of the Extraordinary Embassador, who was supposed might reach the *Ottoman* Court by the end of *April*. The Asian *Spahes* were over-joyed at the news hereof, and immediately obtained licence to depart, and most of the Militia was dispersed every one with joy betaking himself to his own home. But this Embassador missing of his time allotted for his arrival, above a month later than he was expected, put all things into a strange combustion. I was then in the Camp when it was whispered, that the Treaty was at an end, that the Christians had deluded them, and caused them to disband their Army, that so they might fall upon them with the greater advantage; the misfortune of which (according to the custom of the Commonalty) was charged on the heads of the Governors; and the too much credulity of the Visier. But at length on the 28. of *May*. 1665. news coming that the Embassador from the Emperour was arrived at *Buda*; the Vi-

hier the next day departed from *Belgrade* with his whole Army, which I accompanied as far as *Nissa*, about nine days march towards *Adrianople*; and there having put an end to my business, and wearied with the slow pace, and heats, and other inconveniences of an Army, I took my leave of the great Visier, and proceeded forward by longer journeys to attend the Court at *Adrianople*: and that I may give my Reader an account of these Countries and the nature of the people that inhabit them, I hope it will not be judged much besides my purpose, if I entertain him a little with a relation of some part of my journey to *Belgrade*.

On the 29th of *April* 1665. I departed from *Adrianople* towards *Belgrade*, and on the first of *May* I lodged at a Village called *Semesgè*, the first Town I came to, inhabited by *Bulgarians* who are Christians, that day being a Festival: the women upon the arrival of Guests came running from their houses with Cakes of dough-baked bread which they called *Togatch*, only laid upon the Coals between two Tiles, which they soon kneaded and prepared for the stomachs of Travellers; others brought Milk, Eggs and Wine to sell, and what else their homely Cottages afforded, which they pressed on us with much importunity, the younger and handsomer challenging a priority in the sale of their provisions before those who were ancient and more homely: These Country Lasses had that day put on their holy Garments, which put me in mind of those dresses I have seen in pictures of the ancient Shepherdesses in *Arcadia*, being a loose Gown of various colours with hanging sleeves; their arms had no sleeve but that of their Smock, which though it were of Canvas or some very coarse Linnen, was yet wrought with many various works of diverse colours; their hair was braided, hanging down at length behind, which some had adorned with little shells found upon the sea shore, tyed at the end with fringes of Silk, bobs, and tassels of Silver; their heads were covered with pieces of Silver Coin of different sorts strung upon thread, and their breasts were in the same manner decked; those being most honoured, and esteemed most rich, who were best adorned with these st rings of Coyn, and bracelets on their wrists, with which every one, according to her ability, had dressed and made her self fine. Amongst these we passed with plenty of Provision and a hearty welcome; for these people called *Bulgarians* inhabit all that Country to the Confines of *Hungary*, they till all that ground, pasture vast numbers of Cattel, and are industrious and able Husbandmen, by which means and the liberty they enjoy by the small number of Turks which live amongst them, they pass their time with some reasonable comfort, and are more commodious in wealth than they suffer to appear outwardly to the envious eye of the Turks. Their Language is the old *Illyrian* or *Sclavonian* tongue, which hath much similitude with the *Russians*; because this people is said to come originally from beyond the River *Volga*, and so by corruption are called *Bulgarians* or *Volgarians*. On the third of *May* we arrived at *Philippopolis*, where we were civilly entertained at the House or Monastery of the Metropolit, or Greek Bishop of that place. By this City runs the River *Hebrus*, having its original from the Mountains *Rhodope*, in sight of which we travelled towards *Sophia*; of which *Ovid* thus speaks,

*Qua patet umbrosus Rhodope glacialis ad Hæmum,
Et sacer amissas exigit Hebrus aquas.*

The City of *philippopolis* is situate in a large and open Plain, and Level, whereon are great numbers of little round Hills, which the Inhabitants will have to be the Graves of the *Roman* Legions slain in those Fields. A certain *Greek* had once the melancholy dream of much Treasure buried in one of these Hills; and this phancy so often troubled him in his sleep, that it took a strong impression in his mind whilst he was waking, and so far troubled him, that he could take no rest nor contentment untill he had eased his mind to the *Nasir-Aga*, who is he who oversees the water-works and places of pleasure belonging to the Grand Signior in that Country. The Turk, though he had a great mind to the treasure, durst not yet open the ground, untill he had first acquainted the Grand Signior with the mind of the *Greek*, who upon the first intimation dispatch'd away Officers (so apt the Turks are in matters of profit to catch even at a shadow) to open this Hill; to which work the Country Villagers were summoned; and whilst they digged very deep, not well understanding the manner and art of Mining, the Earth broke from the top, and buried seventy persons in the ruins: And so the work ended, and the *Greek* awaked from his dream. This Town hath one part of it built on the side of a little Hill; two others are also near it, which appear like Bulwarks or Fortifications on that side the City; all the rest of the Country thereabouts being a dead Plain or Level. At this place remains no other Antiquity besides the ruins of two ancient Chappels, built of Brick, in the form of a Cross; one of which the *Greeks* hold in great devotion, and report to be the place wherein *St. Paul* preached often to the *Philippians*; and with that opinion they often resort thither, especially on the days of Devotion, to say their Prayers: The Walls of the City are likewise very ancient, over the Gates of which is writ something in the *Greek* Character; but Time hath so defaced it, that to me it seemed not longer legible: And so ignorant are the *Greeks* also even such as were born in that City, and are Priests and Colories (which are the strictest sort of Religious Men amongst them) who have nothing more to do than to attend to their Office and Studies, that they cannot give any reasonable account of the original of that City, who it was built by, or any thing else of the History of it, and with much admiration they hearken to us, when we tell them any thing what our Books relate concerning it.

From hence I departed towards *Sophia*, passing in this Journey the *Montes Hemi*, call'd by the Turks *Capi Dervent*, which is as much as the Gate of the narrow way; the ascent hereunto is rugged and sharp, commodious for Robbers, who there have such Caves and places of refuge, that they defie very considerable Forces that are sent against them. On the top of this Hill is a Village of *Bulgarians*, where the Women used to the diversity of Travellers, are become free in their discourse, and only entertain strangers, whilst their Husbands are in the Field, or with their Cattel, or fly away for fear of some injury from the Turks. Descending hence is a very narrow inclosure, on both sides being en-

vironed with high Mountains and woods, which is a shady and melancholy Journey for the space of two hours; to this place the *Heidouts*, or *Heyducks* (as that people call them) frequently resort in great numbers out of *Transilvania*, *Moldavia*, *Hungary*, and other parts which taking advantage of these close Woods, discharge Vollies of Shot on the strongest Caravans, and rolling stones from the Mountains in the narrowest passages, do as much execution as with Canon; for, as I have understood, in one of those *Dervents* (for there are many of this nature in the Journey to *Belgrade*) 18 Thieves only killed above 300 Merchants, who for security united together, and their whole Baggage and Goods became a prey to the Robbers. In these places, thus fortified by Nature, the Inhabitants resisted the force of the Grecian Emperours, and killed *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders* after he had subjected the City of *Constantinople*. Amongst these *Bulgarians* is a sort of people which they call *Paulines*, who had in former times a strangely confused notion of Christianity, pretending to follow the Doctrine of *St. Paul*, used Fire in the sacrament of Baptism, and preferred this Apostle before his Master Christ: But there being some Roman priests in those parts, that observing the ignorance of these poor people, and their willingness to be instructed, took the advantage, and reduced them all to the Roman Faith, to which now they are strict and superstitious adherers.

Through those narrow *Dervents* before spoken of, we arrived after three days of weary Journey at *Sophia*, a place so wholly Turkish, that there is nothing in it that appears more antique than the Turks themselves, it is situated in a pleasant Plain or broad Valley, between two high Mountains, the highest of them wearing a snowy head in the heat of the summer Solstice, which is the reason that that City is cool and wholsom, but of a subtile penetrating air, being supplied with admirable waters of easie digestion, which come pouring down in great abundance from the Mountains, and supply the Town with plentiful streams in all parts of it, and are said to be waters of those Fountains which *Orpheus* delighted in. There are besides these cool Waters, certain Baths naturally hot, to which the Turks resort very frequently, being of the same nature and virtue with ours in *England*. From this place we made nine long days Journey to *Belgrade*, in which passage there is nothing more memorable than the desolation of the Country, and being there arrived, we pitched our Tent in the Camp, where after six days we marched back with the Army, to whom nothing could come more joyful than their return home, and the conclusion of the War; by which may be observed in some manner, how far the nature of the Turks is degenerated from the ancient warlike disposition of the *Saracens*.

C H A P. XII.

Of the Turks Armata, or Naval Forces.

HAVING particularly run over the Force of this formidable Enemy and scourge of Christianity by Land, we are now to take a view according to the true method of this Discourse, of the strength of their Fleets and Maritime Forces; which though to a Nation situated on the Continent, are not so necessary or prevalent to defend themselves from their Neighbours, or transport their Power and Conquests into other Dominions, as they are to a people whose Habitation is encompassed by the Sea; yet certainly a Prince can never be said to be truly puissant, who is not Master in both Elements; For not to expatiate on the common Theme of the Riches and Power which arise from Navigation, it is sufficient, considering how often the mighty force of the *Ottoman* Empire hath been foiled and baffled by the small Republique of *Venice*, for want of true knowledge or success, or application of their minds to Maritime Exercise, to demonstrate of what efficacy in most designs is a well provided and regulated Fleet.

The Turks are now very much weakned in their Naval Forces since the war against *Candie*, and are so discouraged in their hopes of success at Sea, that ships and Galeasses, called by them *Mahumes*, are wholly in disuse amongst them; whether it be that they want able Seamen to govern them, or that they despair of being able to meet the *Venotians* in open Sea (for which those Vessels of Battery are only in use) they are fallen into a fancy of light Gallies, a sign that they intend to trust more of their safety to their Oars than their Arms; of which in the year 1661. (after the loss of 28 well-provided Gallies wreck'd with their men in the *Black Sea*) the Visier *Kuperlee* built thirty others for reparation of that loss, but of that green and unseasoned Timber, that the first Voyage many of them became unserviceable for the Leaks; and the rest, at the return of the Fleet in the Month of *October* following, were laid up amongst the old and worn Vessels.

It may seem a difficult matter to assign the true reason why and by what means the Turks come to be so decayed in their Naval Forces, who abound with so many conveniences for it, and with all sorts of materials fit for Navigation, as Cordage, Pitch, Tar, and Timber, which arise and grow in their own dominions, and are easily brought to the imperial City with little or no danger of their Enemies. For Timber, the vast woods along the Coast of the *Black Sea*, and parts of *Asia*, at the bottom of the Gulph of *Nicomedia*, supply them: Pitch, Tar, and Tallow are brought to them from *Albania* and *Wallachia*; Canvas and Hemp from *Grand Cairo*; and Bisquet is in plenty in all parts of the Turks Dominions. Their Ports are several of them convenient for building both of Ships and Gallies; the Arsenal at *Constantinople* hath no less than a hundred thirty seven *Voltas*, or chambers for Buildings, and so many Vessels may be upon the Stocks at the same

same time. At *Sinopolis* neer *Trapezond* is another Arsenal: at *Midia* and *Anchiale*, Cities on the black Sea, are the like; and in many parts of the *Propontis*, the *Hellespont*, and the *Bosphorus*, are such Ports and conveniences for shipping, as if all things had conspired to render *Constantinople* happy, and not only capable of being Mistress of the Earth but formidable in all parts of the Ocean: and yet the Turk for several years, especially since the war with *Candia*, and their defeats at Sea have not been able at most to Equippe a Fleet of above a 100 Sail of Gallies, of which 14 are maintained and provided at the charge of the *Beyes* of the *Archipelago*, for which they have certain Isles in that Sea assigned them.

The Turks do neither want Slaves for to bogue at the Oars of the Gallies; for *Tartari* supplies them with great numbers; besides, divers persons in *Constantinople* make it a trade to hire out their Slaves for the Summers Voyage for 6000 Aspers, running the hazard of the Slaves life, who returning home safe is consigned to the possession of his Patron: and if want still be of *Chirurgia*, as the Turks call it, or Slaves for the Oar, a collection is made in several Provinces of the lustiest and stoutest Clowns, called by the Turks *Azabs*, but by the other Slaves *Chakal*; these are chosen out of certain Villages, one being elected out of every twenty houses, the hire of which is 6000 Aspers, for payment whereof the other 19 Families make a proportionable Contribution. Upon receipt of their pay they give in security not to fly, but to serve faithfully for that years Expedition: But these men unused to the Service of the Sea, unskilful at the Oar, and Sea-sick are of little validity; and the success of their Voyage may be compared to that in the Fable of the Shepherd, who sold his Possessions on the Land, to buy Merchandise for Sea-negotiations.

The Souldiers which are destin'd to Sea-service are called *Levents*, who come voluntarily and enter themselves in the Registers of the Arsenal obliging themselves to serve that summers Expedition for 6000 Aspers, and Bisquet for the Voyage; the stoutest and most resolute of these fellows are those called *Cazdaglii*, who are a certain sort of mountainers in the Country of *Anatolia*; neer *Troy*, whose Country I once passed through, with some apprehension, and more than ordinary vigilance and caution to preserve my life; for being all Robbers and Free-booters, we admitted no Treaties or Discourses with them but with our Arms in our hands. Others there are also obliged to Sea-service, who are *Zaims* and *Timariots*, and hold their Lands in Sea-Tenour; but being not bound to go in person themselves, they bring or send their Servants (called in Turkish *Bedel*) to supply their place, every one providing one, two, or more, according to the value of his Lands, as we have before declared in the Chapter of the *Zaims* and *Timariots*. Some *Janizaries* are also drawn out for Sea-service, and some *Spahies* of the four inferior Banners; and not to make too bold with the veterane Souldiers, command only such to Sea as are new and green Souldiers, lately registred in the Rolls of the *Spahiees*.

The Auxiliaries of the Turks forces by Sea, are the Pirates of *Barbari*, from those three Towns of *Tripoli*, *Tunis*, and *Algier*; but these of late years have disused the Custom of coming in to the Turks assistance;

assistance, yet oftentimes they ply towards the *Archipelago*, and to the *Levant*, but it is to supply themselves with Souldiers, and recruits of people for encrease of their Colonies.

The other part of auxiliary Forces is from the *Beyes* of the *Archipelago*, being fourteen in number, every one of which commands a Gally, and for their maintenance have the contribution of certain Islands in that Sea allotted to them; the which are better manned and armed than these of *Constantinople*, but these neither, are not willing too much to expose their Vessels to fight or danger, in regard that being built and maintained at their own charges, and their whole subsistence, they are the more cautious how they venture all their Fortune in the success of a Battel: These *Beyes* also give themselves much up to their delights and pleasure, and employ more thoughts how to please their appetites, than to acquire glory and fame by the war; what they gain in the Summer, when joyned with the gros of the Turkish Fleet is the prize of the Grand Signior, but what chance throws upon them in the winter, is their own proper and peculiar Fortune.

The Gunners of the Turkish Fleet are wholly ignorant of that art, for any person who is either English, French, Dutch, or any other Christian Nation, they design to his Office, whether he be skilful or unskilful in the management of Artillery; having an opinion that those people are naturally addicted to a certain proneness and aptitude in Gunnery; in which they find their error as often as they come to skirmish with their Enemy.

The chief Admiral or Generalissimo of the Turkish *Armata* is called the Captain *Pashaw*; his Lieutenant General is called *Tershana Kiabias*; the next Officer is *Tersane Emimi*, or Steward of the *Arsenal*, who hath the care of providing all necessaries for the Navy; but this place being bought, as almost all other Offices, occasions a necessity in these persons to rob Nails, Anchors, Cables, and other provisions of the Fleet to satisfy the debts they contracted for the purchase of their places: in the like manner doth every *Reis* or Captain of a Gally keep his hand in exercise as often as convenience offer; these are all for the most part Italian, Renegadoes, or the race of them born and educated near the *Arsenal*. The Officers command their *Chirurgie* or slaves in corrupted Italian, which they call *Frank*; and afford them a better allowance of Bisket than is given to the slaves in the Venetian *Armata*.

The Turks now despairing of being equal to the Christian Forces by Sea, and to be able to stand with them the shock of a Battel, build light Vessels for robbing, burning, and destroying the Christian Coast, and afterwards to secure themselves by flight, and also to transport Souldiers, Ammunition, and Provisions, for succor of *Candia*, and other places of their new Conquests near the Sea shore.

The *Arsenal* at *Venice* is so greatly esteemed by the Turks, that they seem not to desire the conquest of that place for any other reason more than the benefit of the *Arsenal*; as a Person of great quality amongst them said once, that they had made a Conquest of *Venice*, they would not inhabit there, but leave it to the Venetians, in regard that the City affords not fresh water, which is necessary for the use of their Mosques, and their washing before Prayer; but that the *Arsenal*; and a Tribute would satisfy the desires of the Grand Signior.

But the Turks are not likely to be Masters of this Seat of *Neptune*, whilst they so unwillingly apply their minds to Maritime affairs, who being conscious of their former ill success at Sea, and how little use they make of those advantages they have for shipping, acknowledge their inabilities in Sea affairs, and say; *That God hath given the Sea to the Christians, but the land to them*. And no doubt but the large possessions and riches they enjoy on the stable Element of the Earth, is that which takes of their minds a deep attention to matters of the Sea, which is almost solely managed by Renegadoes amongst them, who have abandoned their Faith and their Country. And it is happy for Christendom that this faintness remains on the Spirits of the Turks, and aversion from all Naval employment, whose numbers and power the Great God of Hosts hath restrained by the bounds of the Ocean, as he hath limited the Ocean by the Sands of the Sea shore.

THE

The CONCLUSION.

BY the Discourse made in the three foregoing Books, it will evidently appear what sort of Government is exercised amongst the Turks, what their Religion is, and how formidable their Forces; which ought to make the Christian world tremble, to see so great a Part of it subjected to the Mahometan Power, and yet no means thought of to unite our interests, and compose our Dissentions, which lay us open to the inundation of this flowing Empire: To which I shall add this one thing very observable, That the Grand Signior wages his Wars by Land without any charge to himself; an advantage not to be parallel'd by the policy of any Government I ever heard or read of before; for his *Spahies* and *Janizaries* are always in pay, both in War and Peace; his *Zaims* and *Timariots* have their Lands to maintain them; and other Militia's enjoy the fixed Revenues from their respective Countries: and yet notwithstanding through the expence of the Naval Forces, the building Gallies, and the like, matters not provided for by those who laid the first foundation of this Government, the Revenue of the Empire hath been bankrupted, and by the corruption of the Officers, or ill management, been sold for three years to come, untill all was redeemed and restored again by the wisdom of that famous *Vasler Kuprili*, whom we have had occasion so often to mention in the foregoing Treatise.

We cannot now but pity those Poor Borderers in *Hungary*, *Styria*, *Croatia*, and other parts subject to the Incurfions of this cruel Enemy, since we know that in the last war not three English miles from *Vienna* many poor people have been surpris'd, and fallen into the hands of the Tartar and Turk, and sold afterwards into perpetual Slavery. This Consideration ought to move us, who are barricado'd and fortified by the Seas from the violence of our Enemies, to bless God we are born in so happy and so secure a Country, subject to no dangers but from our selves, nor other miseries but what arise from our own freedom and too much felicity; we ought to consider it is a blessing, that we have never felt any smart of the rod of this great oppressor of Christianity, and yet have tasted of the good and benefit which hath proceeded from a free and open Trade, and an amicable Correspondence and Friendship with this People; which having been maintained for the space of above eighty years, begun in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* of blessed Memory, preserved by the Prudence and admirable Discretion of a series of worthy Embassadors, and daily improved both in Business and Reputation by the excellent Conduct and Direction of that Right Worshipfull Company of the *Levanti* Merchants, hath brought a most considerable benefit to this Kingdom, and gives employment and livelihood to many thousands of people in *England*; by which also His Majesty without any expence, gains a very considerable increase of His Customs.

The sense of this benefit and advantage to my own Country, without any private considerations I have as a Servant to that embassy, or the obligations I have to that worthy Company, cause me to move with the greatest sedulity and devotion possible to promote and advance the Interest of that Trade: And as some study several ways, and prescribe Rules by which a war may be most advantageously managed against the Turk; I, on the contrary, am more inclinable to give my judgement in what manner our Peace and Trade may best be secured and maintained; knowing that so considerable a welfare of our Nation depends upon it, that a few years of Trades interruption in *Turkey* will make all sorts of people sensible of the want of so great a vent of the Commodities of our Country. And therefore as I am oblig'd to pray for the Glory and Prosperity of His Majesty our gracious Sovereign; so likewise, as that which conduces to it for the continuance of the Honour of this Embassy in *Turkey*, and the profitable returns of the *Levanti* Company.

FINIS

